

will be paralyzed to take any action, including the mere passage of resolutions in the General Assembly.

Finally, I believe that the Russian refusal to pay their bills at the United Nations demonstrates that they regard that body as nothing but a propaganda forum.

They despise the principles of the charter and have set upon a course to either completely control the United Nations or destroy it.

The time has come for the United States to take whatever actions are necessary to prove the validity and the mission of the United Nations, or give it up as a failure before the Russians reduce it to a state of public contempt.

The resolution on Hungary presents an ideal case to begin this task.

The time is now to cause the Russians to either abide by the terms of the United Nations resolution on Hungary or be expelled from membership in that body.

I hope action in that direction will be taken in the coming session of the United Nations General Assembly.

If our people demand action of this type, your Government will respond.

Let your voices be heard. Write, call or telegraph your President and your Ambassador at the United Nations telling them exactly what you think on this vital question.

### Washington Report

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 13, 1962

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of August 11, 1962:

WASHINGTON REPORT: COMMONSENSE AND TAXES

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

A conservative and commonsense creed for many years has been that taxes directly affect the strength of the economy, that high taxes drain incentive capital from the economy and prevent growth by gradually strangling business activity and initiative. Today, at long last, it seems the liberals have recognized this basic economic truth and are advocating tax cuts as a spur to the economy. In logic then we know that liberals must now also give proper recognition to the basic ingredients of our economy—a freely competitive market and the all-important incentive which is the profit motive and profits, stemming from a society of free people. Without all of this there would not be an American economy, the marvel of the world. Here the liberal philosophy breaks down. How can a tax cut be a boost to the economy when the Federal Government's big and increasing expenditures both negate any benefit of a tax cut (and waters the value of our money) and progressively limits the economic free-

dom of individuals and businesses by Federal rules and regulations. The falstity of the contradictory logic of liberals is further exemplified by their adherence to Federal pump priming, monetizing the debt (prosperity by printing money and floating bonds), the devastating effect of astronomical spending for liberal legislative proposals, involving government in business, including public housing, public food, urban renewal, TVA and other public power projects, farm subsidies, foreign aid, welfare programs, and many, many others. To summarize the President and the liberals' present dilemma, no tax cut can be beneficial without being matched by reductions in Federal spending, and the President and his advisors are not even considering reduced spending, on the contrary.

As to the discussion of taxes and tax cuts, there are two possibilities: (1) The "quickie" tax cut allegedly to prevent a recession; (2) tax reform (in structure and brackets) to correct basic inequities. The quickie approach is not good. It reduces revenue at a time when we are already deficit financing and increases inflationary pressures. This is the plan advocated by the President who wants flexible taxes, that is, he wants to be able to increase and lower taxes at will, a false economic theory because the uncertainties accompanying fluctuating tax rates will further damage profits, risk and business investment.

Tax reform tackles the problem on a responsible basis. It removes inequities of the present improper bracket system which is too progressive, too confiscatory. Reform is proper at any time, regardless of revenue because it deals not directly with the amount but how it's produced. This brings us to the heart of the political argument on taxes: a flat percentage tax on one hand as against our present form, the Communist-Socialist dictum "from each according to his ability." The solution to imposing taxes in a free society, in my firm opinion, is the flat percentage tax.

Granted there must be a transition period and this is provided by the Alger-Baker-Herlong bill. This legislation reduces both individual and corporate tax rates over a 5-year period within a balanced budget; defers taxes for individuals on long-term capital gains as long as the taxpayer reinvests his holdings; reduces the rates of tax on estates and gifts, and establishes more realistic depreciation rules. This legislation strikes at the crux of the tax problem which is the sharp climb in the graduated rates in the middle income brackets. This is the bottleneck that has slowed the flow of investment funds, especially the risk venture variety, since our capital availability is firmly tied to the rate at which savings can be accumulated. This elementary economic truth is not recognized by the administration which holds that private savings are actually a liability and that economic strength is built through pumping Federal funds into the economy. President Kennedy's economic philosophies are buried in the gobbledygook of administration spokesmen such as in the following statement:

"If the economy were at full employment today, we estimate that total income and total output would be about \$30 billion higher than at present. But Federal tax receipts would be about \$9 billion above present

levels, and private savings would be \$5 or \$6 billion higher than today. Thus, taxes and savings would be drawing \$14 or \$15 billion from the economy which would have to be offset by additional investment and Government expenditures for full employment to be maintained. This means that, at present levels of Government expenditures, our present tax system bars the way to full employment unless we are able to raise private investment about \$14 or \$15 billion above present levels."

The administration, if this statement can be unraveled, does not understand the role of savings and Government spending. Profits and savings provide the necessary investment capital. Federal spending takes away from this investment capital (in taxes) in order to replenish it—obviously self-defeating and contradictory. In conclusion: we have in proper tax reform (Alger-Baker-Herlong bill), the dual forces for impressive and lasting public betterment—the urgently needed tax rate reform and a checkrein on Government spending.

### Philadelphians Defend America

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

#### HON. HERMAN TOLL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 13, 1962

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Speaker, I had the pleasure of attending the commissioning ceremony of the U.S. ship *Barney*—DDG-6—on August 11, 1962, at the Philadelphia Naval Base. The commanding officer, Comdr. Joseph J. Doak, Jr., U.S. Navy, is a Philadelphia native who was appointed to the Naval Academy by former Congressman Leon Sacks from the First District of Pennsylvania. The executive officer, Lt. Comdr. Ralph J. Reeder, U.S. Navy, is also a Philadelphian who lives in the present Fifth Congressional District represented by the Honorable WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr., of Philadelphia. This district has been changed by reapportionment and is the new Fourth Congressional District in which I am a candidate for reelection to the 88th Congress. The ship was built by the New York Shipbuilding Corp. of Camden, N.J., which is right across the Delaware River from the Philadelphia Naval Base.

The show was therefore run by Philadelphia, starring a Philadelphia commanding officer, a Philadelphia executive officer, a commission at the Philadelphia Naval Base and a construction across the Delaware River.

I wish to extend my best wishes to the Philadelphians who will defend America and work to keep the world at peace.

## SENATE

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1962

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who changeth not: In a world rocked and shaken and swept by the whirlwind and riven by the earthquake, we would find the peace of Thy pres-

ence and the whisper of the still, small voice.

In the dire need of these times, steal Thou upon our troubled spirits like the vespers calm of lingering twilight, like the gentle dew on parched ground; commission us, we pray, as the servants of Thy

righteous will, and fit our spirits for that high role as channels of Thy purpose for all mankind.

Save us from the tragic mistakes of the past. Make us architects of a state-lier temple of humanity where no child of Thine shall lack daily bread or be denied access to the common altar of fellowship where all kindreds are one before Thine impartial eyes.

Thus may we know the things which belong to our peace and to the peace of the world.

In the Redeemer's name we ask it. Amen.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order.

The Senate having adjourned last evening in the absence of a quorum, it cannot transact business until a quorum is present. Therefore, the clerk will call the roll, to establish the presence of a quorum.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 160 Leg.]

Alken	Gore	Morton
Allott	Gruening	Mundt
Bartlett	Hart	Murphy
Beall	Hartke	Muskie
Bennett	Hickenlooper	Neuberger
Boggs	Hickey	Pastore
Bortum	Hill	Pearson
Burdick	Holland	Pell
Bush	Hruska	Prouty
Butler	Humphrey	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Randolph
Cannon	Javits	Russell
Capehart	Johnston	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Scott
Carroll	Keating	Smathers
Case	Kefauver	Smith, Mass.
Chavez	Kerr	Smith, Maine
Church	Kuchel	Sparkman
Clark	Lausche	Stennis
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Symington
Cotton	Long, Hawaii	Talmadge
Curtis	Long, La.	Thurmond
Dirksen	Magnuson	Tower
Dodd	Mansfield	Wiley
Douglas	McCarthy	Williams, N.J.
Eastland	McGee	Williams, Del.
Ellender	McNamara	Yarborough
Engle	Metcalf	Young, N. Dak.
Ervin	Miller	Young, Ohio
Fong	Monroney	
Goldwater	Morse	

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

The Senate will be in order. The Senate will not transact business until the Senate is in order. Senators will take their seats.

#### THE JOURNAL—DIVISION OF TIME ON CLOTURE MOTION ON COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with; and, furthermore, I ask unanimous consent that the time between now and 1 o'clock be equally divided on the cloture motion between myself and the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. JAVITS. Will the Senator yield for a question?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

Mr. JAVITS. Reserving the right to object—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York reserves the right to object.

Mr. JAVITS. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MANSFIELD. If I can.

Mr. JAVITS. I will take only 1 minute. I have a two-line amendment which I think would be very helpful to the bill. I ask the Senator whether he will allow me, and whether other Senators will allow me, as I was not here, to send it to the desk so it can be received and be at the desk. It relates to the matter the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] was trying to amend.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from New York asks unanimous consent to send an amendment to the desk. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the amendment will be received, printed, printed in the RECORD, and lie on the table.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 38, line 14, immediately after the period, insert the following new sentence: "Nothing contained in this section shall be construed as derogating from the authority of the President pursuant to section 201(a) (4)."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. What does the division of time amount to?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Twenty-one minutes on each side.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Ohio [Mr. LAUSCHE].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio will be recognized for 2 minutes.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will receive a message from the President of the United States.

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11040) to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Ohio is recognized for 2 minutes.

The Senate will be in order. The attachés of the Senate not having business on the floor will leave the Chamber. The Senator from Ohio will not proceed until the Senate is in order.

The Senator from Ohio.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I shall vote for the cloture motion that will be submitted to the Senate at 1 o'clock. I shall do so because I believe, on the basis of what happened yesterday, that there is no purpose to use time for the objective of analyzing and acquainting the Members of the Senate with the negative and affirmative sides of the various issues that have been placed before us. On the Gore-Lausche amendment prolonged remarks not germane to the immediate issue were delivered.

In my judgment, this entire proceeding has turned into a circus of delaying tactics. It is fitting for a carnival, but inimical to the rationality and dignity that ought to prevail in the U.S. Senate.

No explanation can be given that will be acceptable to the people of Ohio as a justification of the delaying tactics and the exhibition that has taken place here in the past 3 weeks.

The Soviets are orbiting. We are filibustering. All arguments that are needed on these issues have been made. I believe the cloture motion ought to be adopted and the issues brought to a vote before the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, does the Senator from Ohio yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. LAUSCHE. Yes, I do.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 seconds.

#### COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of



the Committee on Government Operations be permitted to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT].

#### WHEN WILL THE WALL FALL?

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I had prepared a statement on the Berlin wall for delivery yesterday. I ask unanimous consent that my remarks may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### STATEMENT BY SENATOR ALLOTT

More than ideology separates the enslaved East from the free West. More than the Iron Curtain reminds us of the difference which on one side encourages slavery and on the other side recognizes the dignity of man and his right to pursue a life of his own choosing. There is tangible proof of the marked demarcation, and its presence is a constant reminder that the struggle between communism and freedom has not ended. Just 1 year ago today, the people of Berlin witnessed a barricade being erected and this barricade is today a symbol of the division which exists between the East and the West. On August 13, 1961, the Berlin wall was erected to prevent the escape of suffering people from behind the Iron Curtain. It is a barrier, symbolic of the contrast in ideology—it stands as a token of our uncertainty—it marks a day when, by failing to act swiftly and unerringly, we lost a battle in the war with communism.

No useful purpose is served by recalling the anniversary, unless as a reminder that the cold war rages on. No war, either cold or hot, is won without succeeding in battles. It goes without saying that, in the struggle, the race is not only to the swift, but to the sure and to the constant. If there is anything to be gained by marking this day, August 13, it can only be as a reminder that where we have failed once, we must not do so again. Where we have faltered upon an occasion, we must succeed thereafter.

The Berlin wall is much more than a physical barrier, it stands as a constant reminder that freedom-loving people are being contained, physically, mentally, and spiritually, against their will. The day must come, and surely it will, when the wall will fall. It is built on a flimsy foundation; it stands on shaky soil. These are encouraging facts. Nevertheless, the wall will not fall of its own accord. It will only be removed as the blight that it is, when the free world will, as a man, stand together, unyielding, in the face of the Red offensive.

We in America have been and are the leaders in this struggle—not so much by choice as through circumstance. Whatever the reason, we bear this burden and must acquit ourselves accordingly. Ours is the responsibility to assume this leadership in a meaningful way until these responsibilities have been discharged. In fulfilling them, it is of utmost importance that we realize that firmness is the one act which the Russians understand. In the past we have not displayed this firmness to the extent which is necessary to accomplish our objective. The time has long since passed for concessions—be they over the conference table—in southeast Asia or Geneva, or in

any other part of the world. Our mistakes should be behind us, and with a display of courage, for which we are justifiably proud, find the way to ultimate freedom for all the peoples of the world.

We will continue to mark the 13th day of August as long as the wall stands. It will not crumble, it will not collapse; it will not decay or disintegrate. It must be crushed; it must be crumbled; it must be demolished and destroyed.

In the immortal words of Abraham Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

It is our duty to turn the Red tide and by so doing make a lasting peace not an objective, but a reality.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

I thank the distinguished Senator for yielding.

#### COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11040) to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system, and for other purposes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. YOUNG].

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I am deeply concerned over the long delay in the passage of House bill 11040 which would establish a commercial communications satellite system. This bill has already been considered by the Senate for 3 weeks, and even now there is no indication as to when final consideration can be had. With the more than 200 amendments already filed, the debate could go on for several weeks more.

It is highly important that legislation on the commercial communications satellite system be enacted at the earliest possible time so that this program can get underway. Present delays are characteristic of many previous delays which in a large measure are responsible for the United States lagging behind Soviet Russia in the space program. We must get going on this program at once.

House bill 11040 represents the best thinking of the vast majority of people in and out of Government. In my opinion, it would offer the best possible advancement of our commercial communications satellite system. It permits private industry to work with the Government in this tremendously important field. This legislation has the approval of the President of the United States, the State Department, the Justice Department, the Federal Communications Commission, and passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 354 to 9.

In the Senate it has received unusual scrutiny and examination. It has been carefully considered and approved by the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the Foreign Relations Committee, and the Judiciary Committee, as well as the Democratic

policy committee. I know of no piece of legislation in recent years which has been more carefully considered or more highly recommended than House bill 11040.

After these 3 weeks of debate in opposition to the communications satellite bill, I have only received three communications from North Dakota people in opposition to it. One was from the local Teamsters Joint Council No. 82 of Fargo, N. Dak.; one from a resident of Fargo; and the other from a farmer. It has not been opposed by the biggest and most important organizations in North Dakota such as the Greater North Dakota Association, the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, and the many local chambers of commerce and civic organizations. It is not opposed, so far as I know, by the North Dakota Federation of Labor which includes most of the North Dakota labor unions; and it is not opposed by any of the railway brotherhoods so far as I know.

Mr. President, all during my more than 17 years as a Member of the U.S. Senate I have never voted for cloture. It has always been my feeling that somehow, some way, legislative problems could be resolved without the imposition of cloture. I doubt if the failure to invoke cloture has prevented the passage of any necessary legislation all during this time. Even the most controversial legislation—that involving civil rights—has been passed several times without the necessity of invoking cloture.

I cannot help feeling differently about the present situation. There is no great constitutional issue at stake in this debate. Indeed, no important issue is involved so far as I can see except the feeling on the part of a small minority of the Senate who, as I understand it, want the Government to own, operate, and control the commercial communications satellite system. It is with great reluctance that I will for the first time vote for cloture; and I hope it will be the last time.

I yield back my remaining time.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 4 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will not proceed until the Senate is in order. Senators desiring to converse will please retire to the cloakrooms. Aides in the Senate whose presence is not required will please be seated or retire from the Chamber. The time should be used for discussion.

The Senator from Louisiana may proceed.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, during the 14 years it has been my honor and privilege to serve in this body, I have participated in some of the longest debates which have occurred, including the 8 weeks' debate over the civil rights bill in 1960.

Mr. President, let me say that if there have been filibusters in this body—and in my opinion there have been—I have been a part of them during the past 14 years while I have been a Senator, along

with other Senators who have determined that they were not going to permit a bad bill to come to a vote because they thought it was not the thing which should be passed through this body.

That is not what is now happening. I have sat in on practically every meeting held by those who are opposing the pending bill. We are convinced that this is a horrible bill, that this is a bad bill, which should be defeated. We have not determined that we will conduct a filibuster.

We are making headway against the bill. There are more Senators who are opposed to it now than there were when we started debating the bill.

When we started debating the bill we did not know how the AFL-CIO stood. This organization represents the greatest labor group in America. Now we know how they stand. They are against the bill, and they have notified us they are.

We did not know how former President Truman, who could smell a bad monopoly bill, felt about this bill. We know now how he feels about it.

We have been making our case, in the effort to prove that here we are dealing with the greatest and most powerful monopoly which has ever existed in the history of mankind, and that this is a bill which seeks to make the U.S. Government a mere contractor, in some instances, for an already overpowerful monopoly.

Some remarks were made on the floor to the effect that I had implied that someone had improperly tried to influence me. I intended no such implication with respect to anyone with whom I discussed the bill, nor for any Senator in this body. I do say that the power of this monopoly is so enormous and so tremendous—that it reaches into so many different facets of American life—that I suggested to the chairman of the committee that we should investigate the various ramifications, including the enormous amount of money that this company has to spend for advertising, and including the many connections it has in different fields. That was not agreed to by the Committee on Foreign Relations. That was an effort to show how tremendous and powerful this monopoly is.

Before we give more power, it seems to me we ought to have a right to debate, to see what should be done; to offer our amendments and to have them debated, and, if the Senate so decides, agreed to.

This bill has been before the Senate for 4 days—4 days. No one has any right to count the previous occasions when an effort has been made to call the bill up or to discuss it, because we have never counted that way in any other so-called filibuster of the past. This bill was called up on Friday at noon. The junior Senator from Louisiana was prepared to discuss the bill on Saturday. He had just come back from his home State, where he won the primary election by about an 80 percent vote. He told Senators that they need not even come to the Chamber Saturday, but that he wanted to make a speech for the Record, if nothing else.

On Saturday the cloture motion was filed.

There have been only 4 days of debate. Senators would not do that for the NAACP. Why do they wish to do it for the A.T. & T?

This is a matter which should be discussed and thoroughly explored. We ought to have a right to make our case, exactly as the case has been made in the past.

I say to my southern friends, to my southern colleagues, to those with whom I have fought against others, "Other Senators have protected your rights. We are looking to you today. Other Senators have voted, when it was not good politics, to give you a right to make your case. You ought to give us a right to make our case."

I say to Senators, "After 4 days of debate you have no business voting for a cloture motion."

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, does the Senator yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Yes.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK].

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, may we have order?

Mr. KEFAUVER. May we have order, Mr. President?

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the question that we shall decide today is whether or not we have had a full and complete debate on this subject. Based upon prior filibusters, it seems we have not.

Through Saturday this Senate has spent a total of 12 days on this bill. On June 14, June 25, June 28, and August 1 it was before the Senate for 5 minutes or less.

At the end of Saturday 42 hours and 15 minutes had been spent on this bill.

Let us look for a moment at the experience we have had in other matters which have been spoken to at length.

On the civil rights bill of 1960 the discussion ran for 37 days, from February 15 to April 11, 1960.

On the tidelands oil bill in 1953 the debate extended for 35 days, from April 1 to May 5, 1953.

On the antilynching bill of 1938 the discussion lasted from January 6 through February 21, a total of 29 days.

I submit that there has not been full discussion of the bill.

Second, my colleagues, or at least some of them, know that I tried to obtain the floor 2 weeks ago. I was scheduled to make a long speech as of today. This is the first time that I have had the floor to talk. So I say to Senators that the motion for cloture is premature, and I shall vote against cloture.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from North Dakota has expired.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I yield to the Senator from North Dakota 1 minute.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee yields 1 minute to the Senator from North Dakota.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Is it not true that the Senator from North Dakota, as well as the Senator from Michigan [Mr. McNAMARA], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], and other Senators who are vitally interested in the bill, have had amendments pending and have not had an opportunity to speak on the bill, even though they have been ready and willing to speak during the limited time that the bill has been before the Senate?

Mr. BURDICK. I know I have been ready, and I believe other Senators have been ready, too.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Does the Senator not feel that before a gag rule is put upon him, he should have an opportunity to express himself?

Mr. BURDICK. I think all Senators should have such an opportunity.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Does the Senator yield back the remainder of his time?

Mr. BURDICK. I yield back the remainder of the time allotted to me.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Iowa.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 2 minutes. The Senate will be in order. The Chair will direct the Sergeant at Arms to ask staff assistants, unless their presence is required, to retire from the Chamber. The Senate is operating under limited time. Senators are entitled to that time, instead of yielding for the purpose of permitting staff members to march back and forth.

The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I propose to vote for cloture today. I shall do so reluctantly. During the debate on the so-called literacy test bill I stated that I felt cloture should be invoked only under exceptional circumstances. I pointed out during the debate at that time that I thought the literacy test situation was one of the exceptional circumstances. However, I also pointed out that the so-called literacy test bill was not a true literacy test bill. I told the proponents of that bill that if they would revamp the bill so that it would become a literacy test bill, and nothing else, I would vote for cloture. Unfortunately, they failed to do so. Accordingly, I did not vote for cloture at that time.

The situation now before the Senate is different. We have a good bill. I am satisfied that the bill is adequate. It meets the approval of the President of the United States, the overwhelming majority of the House, three committees of the Senate; and, so far as I am concerned, it has been properly aired on both sides. Accordingly, I propose to vote for cloture, but I add that I do so reluctantly.

In this connection, there appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star, a timely article entitled "Liberals Peril Space Project," by the distinguished columnist, William S. White. I ask unanimous consent that this be printed in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks.



There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

# LIBERALS PERIL SPACE PROJECT

(By William S. White)

The increasingly savage filibuster against the administration's bipartisan bill to give private enterprise a large and proper share in our space communications system has now reached the point of rule or ruin by a handful of professionally liberal Democratic Senators.

Not without heavy cost to orderly government and responsible party conduct can the President longer ignore what has become a bitter attack of rarely exemplified recklessness upon the honor and integrity of his whole administration from within his own party.

And an even deeper challenge is posed, too. This is a threat to the whole cooperative arrangement between Government and business on which every single phase of the national space effort has thus far been so patiently built.

Grant what the leading filibusterers really want—a totally nationalized space communications system from which private business is excluded in any owning capacity—and the whole future of the space program is unarguably cast into a mold of massive state socialism. What then? Can bureaucracy and liberal slogans build the great machines through which man will talk to man in endless space? If private companies are not to be trusted in the infinite outer air, should private companies continue to own our radio and television and telegraph on earth?

Far from placating them, however, every concession made to such men as Senator MORSE and Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee, has led only to more and more demands and more and more violent accusations. Senator KEFAUVER, for example, now proceeds to the incredible charge that this bill is "the most gigantic giveaway in the history of this country."

If this is so, the President, his Cabinet and immense majorities in both parties in Congress are prepared to defraud the country as it has never been defrauded before. By a ratio of more than 35 to 1 the House of Representatives has already sealed the fraud. For it has passed the bill by 354 to 9; the Senate long has been ready to approve it overwhelmingly, too, if only the filibusterers would allow a vote.

If the President does not now denounce and destroy this almost hysterical thrust at the heart of capitalistic democracy he will have surrendered to a small coalition of shouting demagogues and good but deluded men who are still Populists at heart in a world where populism has been dead for half a lifetime.

Moreover, he will have let himself down and his principal Cabinet officers—including Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Secretary of State Dean Rusk—as well. And he will have run away from that high noon showdown which sooner or later he must at any rate face with the leftwing of his party: Will this administration finally submit to these irresponsibles on the left, or will it stand at last and fight them to the end and thus maintain its due authority and responsibility?

The question is genuine, not rhetorical. For every day the irresponsibles are throwing away congressional seats to the Republicans in the elections of this fall. They can throw away the President's seat, too, in the elections of 1964.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield to myself such time as I may desire under the rule, and then I will yield to the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE]. If he does not use the remainder of the time, I shall then yield to some other Senator.

I have asked a member of the policy committee staff to prepare a memorandum on the time devoted to congressional hearings and debate on the communications satellite bill.

There were 11 days of hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives, resulting in 710 pages of testimony and related material. The committee reported the bill favorably with a vote of 19 to 0 in executive session.

In the House of Representatives, there were 2 days debate on the bill, occupying 50 pages of the RECORD.

In the hearings before the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences of the Senate there were 6 days of hearings, resulting in 473 pages of testimony and related material.

There were 7 days of hearings before the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, resulting in 413 pages of testimony and related material.

There were 9 days of hearings before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of the Senate Judiciary Committee, resulting in 757 pages of testimony and related material.

There were 4 days of hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, resulting in 456 pages of testimony and related material.

There were 8 days of hearings before the Select Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Monopoly, of the Senate, resulting in 755 pages of testimony and related material.

There was 1 day of consideration of the bill, with other bills, before the Democratic policy committee of the Senate.

There were 16 days of debate on the bill in the Senate, resulting in approximately 500 pages of debate.

Totaling those figures, there were five committees in the Senate alone, plus the policy committee; 34 days of hearings in the Senate alone; 16 days of debate in the Senate, resulting in approximately 3,000 pages of testimony and related material in the Senate alone, and 500 pages of debate in the Senate alone.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the memorandum to which I have referred, which was prepared for me by Mr. Kenneth Teasdale, a member of the policy committee staff, be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the memorandum was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AUGUST 14, 1962.

To: Senator MANSFIELD.

From: Kenneth Teasdale.

Subject: Time devoted to congressional hearings and debate on the Communications Satellite Act.

Hearings before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives: 11 days of hearings on July

25, 26, 27, 28, 1961, and March 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 1962; 710 pages of testimony and related material. In 1962 committee voted to report bill favorably 19-0 in executive session.

Debate on bill in House of Representatives: 2 days of debate, on May 2 and 3, 1962; 50 pages of debate.

Hearings before the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, U.S. Senate: 2 days of hearings, on February 27 and 28, 1962; 473 pages of testimony and related material.

Hearings before the Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate: 7 days of hearings, on April 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 24, and 26, 1962; 413 pages of testimony and related material.

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly, U.S. Senate: 9 days of hearings, on March 29, 30, and April 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, and 17, 1962; 757 pages of testimony and related material.

Hearings before Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate: 4 days of hearings, on August 3, 6, 7, and 8, 1962; 456 pages of testimony and related material.

Hearing before Select Committee on Small Business, Subcommittee on Monopoly, U.S. Senate: 8 days of hearings, on August 2, 3, 4, 9, 1961; 755 pages of testimony and related material.

Democratic policy committee, U.S. Senate: 1 day of consideration.

Debate on bill in U.S. Senate: 16 days of debate, on June 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, July 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, August 1, 10, 11, 13, 1962; approximately 500 pages of debate.

Totals: 5 committees in the Senate alone (plus policy committee); 34 days of hearings in the Senate alone; 16 days of debate in the Senate; approximately 3,000 pages of testimony and related material in the Senate alone; 500 pages of debate in the Senate alone.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on July 27 I inserted in the RECORD a letter, dated June 30, 1962, from Mr. J. A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, which is the union most directly concerned with the bill before the Senate. I read the letter in part:

I think I really need not remind you that our hundreds of thousands of workers in the communications industry are making their judgment on the basis of experience. They know their industry. They know where the money came from that went into the building of the system that is ready to be launched now. Not once was the word "giveaway" mentioned in the convention where the workers themselves were debating their own future, in the only industry they know.

Not once was the satellite system referred to as another TVA. Our people are solidly behind the TVA idea because they understand it for what it is—a magnificent experiment conducted by Government because there was no other way to accomplish what TVA does. Communications satellites, on the other hand, are not only possible through private enterprise, private initiative, but will actually be operating sooner if private industry is permitted to go ahead now.

It is our belief that America badly needs a functioning communications satellite system now, and, as a final resolve, our delegates urged prompt enactment of a law so that the circuits will soon be busy bringing people around the globe closer together.

Sincerely yours,

J. A. BEIRNE,  
President.

Also, at that same time I had printed in the RECORD a letter from Nicholas

deB. Katzenbach, Deputy Attorney General, under date of July 27, which I quote in part:

The Department of Justice is entirely satisfied that this corporation is the best answer we can devise to a realistic cooperation of private industry and the Government in a program of national and international significance. If this legislation is not passed at this session the possibility of a creative solution will be seriously jeopardized for the reasons expressed above. Ironically, in view of the argument made by those in opposition—

I ask Senators to listen to the following statement—

the possibility of a system owned and operated exclusively by existing carriers would be greatly enhanced.

Mr. President, yesterday a memorandum was distributed to all Senators by the opposition to H.R. 11040 which stated that the filing of a cloture petition by the leadership last Saturday was "unwarranted and unfair."

In support of this statement, several points are made in the memorandum which I would like to discuss. I do this because I believe the Senate should have the facts before making the important decision which it is about to make.

Point No. 1 of the memorandum reads:

1. Though H.R. 11040 was first called up nearly 2 months ago, there have been only a few days of full debate. Continuity has been completely lost by the opponents.

The fact is, Mr. President, that floor debate on the bill has been conducted during 16 days. The number of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD actually devoted to the bill totals approximately 500 for the Senate alone. From either point of view—days in which the bill was discussed, or volume of remarks addressed to it—the bill has received more exhaustive consideration than any other bill in the 87th Congress.

The memorandum makes as its second, third, and fourth points:

2. On June 21, we had the manpower (and womanpower) to block vital emergency bills by extended debate. At the request of the leadership, we refrained from so doing.

3. On July 23, we acceded to a unanimous-consent request by Senator MANSFIELD that the Finance Committee be permitted to sit for the entire remainder of the session, thereby eliminating any interference with progress on the tax, tariff, and other vital measures in the President's program.

4. On July 27, we acceded to a unanimous-consent request by Senators HUMPHREY and HAYDEN to take up and pass a Senate resolution extending all Federal appropriations until August 31, 1962.

These contentions, Mr. President, are all entirely accurate. In substance, Mr. President, the contentions hold that the opponents did not use their individual rights under the rules of the Senate to reduce the Government of the United States to chaos, and to make a mockery of a major segment of the President's fiscal and international policies. Had they sought to do so, there would have been little in the Senate rules to stop them except an earlier invocation of rule XXII which the leadership is now suggesting that the Senate apply. I appreciate the fact that in this connection the opposition exercised the self-restraint and the cooperation which is essential if the Sen-

ate is to discharge its constitutional functions in an orderly fashion.

The memorandum continues:

5. On August 1, we acceded to a unanimous-consent request by the majority leader that H.R. 11040 be referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, even though the time allotted was far too short.

Mr. President, this referral was proposed by the leadership mainly to meet the objections of the opponents of the bill. The measure had already been the subject of hearings before four committees of the Senate. The Foreign Relations Committee made it five Senate committees—the hearings of which produced a total of approximately 3,000 printed pages of testimony and related matter in 34 days of hearings. It was the opponents who advocated the need for further committee consideration and not the leadership. The fact is that the request for referral was undertaken by the leadership in an effort to extend a courtesy to those Senators who felt that foreign relations questions should be re-examined. The memorandum points out in this connection that the opponents of the bill also agreed that it would become the pending business upon being reported by the Foreign Relations Committee on August 10.

This agreement was in exchange for the referral of the bill to the Foreign Relations Committee and represented, I believe, an honorable compromise. It was a compromise, again, made necessary by the rules which permit a delay of days, if not weeks, on the simple question of whether to take up a bill, let alone get at its substance.

Paragraph 7 of the memorandum states:

7. On the evening of July 27, Senator YARBOROUGH deferred to the promise Senator HUMPHREY had made that there would be no live quorum calls, despite the fact that such a call might well have found an adjournment.

Mr. President, on July 27, Senator YARBOROUGH did defer to a request that no live quorum be called late that evening and the leadership appreciated this routine courtesy. However, a number of live quorums have been requested during the course of debate on the bill. On Saturday, July 28, the Senate spent more than 10 hours in securing two quorums. A number of those opposing the bill did not respond to the quorum calls. Those resisting the bill had an opportunity to speak against it throughout that day—an opportunity they did not avail themselves of.

The memorandum next mentions in paragraph 8:

8. We refrained throughout the debate from exercising many of the rights guaranteed us by the Senate rules, with the exception of a single request that the Journal be read, and this after the majority leader used the admittedly unusual procedure of trying to bring up a major bill during the morning hour.

I might add, Mr. President, that those opposing the bill have, during the period of its consideration on the floor, denied committees the opportunity to meet; resisted for several days the motion to take up the bill; and devoted 2 days to amendments to the Journal. Some have

discussed nongermane matters at great length.

It is true, Mr. President, that they could have gone further, that they would have been entirely within their rights in going further. The Senate, I am sure, is grateful for the restraint which they have exercised.

Paragraph 9 of the memorandum reads:

9. We allowed gaps in debate from June 21 to July 27 and from August 1 to August 10 which completely destroyed the continuity of our attempt to put our case before the Senate and the American people.

Mr. President, those opposing the bill did "allow gaps" of several days in debating it, the longest of which was for the consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee which they had sought themselves. In addition, several Members of the opposition have expressed the hope that a further gap—until the 88th Congress convenes or even beyond—be permitted before the bill is read the third time and passed. The opposition to the bill, far from urging that there be no "gaps" in debate, has in fact, suggested that the debate be terminated by withdrawing the bill from any further consideration.

The memo goes on to say that there have been "unprecedented Saturday sessions," and sessions "beginning early in the morning and ending late at night." In the first place, Saturday sessions are not unprecedented during this session although the leadership has done its best to keep them to a minimum. Moreover, Senators who have served in prior Congresses will remember precedents for Saturday sessions in July and August, particularly during election years, as well as sessions commencing in the morning and extending to 9 or 10 o'clock at night, or, indeed, all through the night.

That is the kind of Senate circus operation which the leadership has gone to great lengths to avoid. And, may I say, it hurts, it hurts deeply, after these efforts, to hear the unwarranted charge that Members have been pushed into unprecedented sessions, that they have been subject to a trial by endurance and inconvenience.

If the introduction of a cloture petition, after this extended period of debate, is unwarranted and unfair, I do not know what is fair under the Senate rules. The leadership does not believe it has dealt unfairly with the Members opposing the bill; it has, on the contrary steadfastly resisted the urgent request of many other Senators that, considering the lateness of the congressional session, the importance of this bill, and the heavy backlog of other legislation still to be considered, round-the-clock sessions be held until the bill could be brought to a final disposition. The leadership does not believe such sessions are necessary in order to bring about action on the bill. It believes that Members have been treated fairly; that the bill has been amply considered both in committee and on the floor; and that it is now time to vote. The leadership would have preferred a unanimous-consent agreement limiting debate on the bill to the restrictions of debate under cloture which would have allowed



ample time for a final consideration of the measure. It requested that consent. It was not forthcoming. Consequently, the leadership had no other alternative but to offer a cloture motion.

That motion is now to be decided. The issue is clear cut: Are two-thirds of the Senators determined that a decision shall be made, one way or the other? Are the Senate rules a two-way proposition or a one-way street, a street that can be blocked to all the legislative traffic of the Nation, by a small minority of Senators if they are healthy enough and determined enough. Much has been said of the rules of the Senate, and much has been said of the rights of the minority to extensive debate under those rules. I believe in those rights. But I also believe in the higher responsibility of the Senate as a whole to fulfill its constitutional legislative functions.

Rule XXII is a rule of the Senate, and it is entitled to the same respect as other rules for it signifies a realization on the part of the Senate that at some point, there must be an end. When Members of the Senate are as courageous, as honest, and as unshakable in their convictions as have been the men on both sides of this question, sometimes no other course is possible under the Senate rules except an interminable delay if not a default in the constitutional responsibilities of this body or the application of rule XXII. The leadership believes the Senate is now at such a point.

The bill that we are considering has received far more of the time, attention, and energy of the Senate than has any bill in the 87th Congress. These proceedings have culminated in 16 days of debate on the Senate floor. Almost all committee activity except that of the Finance and Appropriations Committees have come to a standstill. The legislative process has slowed to a halt. The President spoke last night of the legislative needs of the Nation—of the need for action to begin to meet the great social and economic issues of the day. Will the Senate continue to dawdle? To decide for cloture is to decide honorably and reasonably to settle this issue one way or another and get on with the business of the Senate for the remainder of the session.

The leadership has placed the question before the Senate. Now the Senate itself will decide. It is my firm belief the Senate owes the country a decision.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from Montana has expired. All time on his side has expired.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Tennessee has 14 minutes remaining.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Alaska [Mr. BARTLETT].

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I shall suffer no pangs of conscience in voting against cloture.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Alaska will suspend until the Senate is in order. The occupants of the galleries will be in order. Senators will cease conversation. The Senator from Alaska may proceed.

Mr. BARTLETT. This will represent for me no deviation in attitude or action. Almost uniformly, during my brief service in the Senate, I have voted against cloture. It is true that my previous votes have been on the subject of civil rights, and for this I have been in some quarters branded a vicious reactionary, and, worse, I have been called anti-Negro and antihumanitarian, and anti a good many other things.

However, I voted as I did out of a very deep conviction that there ought to be one parliamentary body in the world where there might be the right of unlimited discussion; and that also is a reason why I voted in the previous Congress against a move to permit cloture by fewer than two-thirds of the Senators present and voting.

This right for free and unlimited debate I have long held to be vital to the protection of a minority in Congress, and the country.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I yield 1 more minute to the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. BARTLETT. That fact is too frequently forgotten today, when it is said that prolonged debate is desired only to stop civil rights legislation. Nothing could be further from the truth. This is a part and parcel of our bulwark of freedom. I hope that cloture will not be imposed upon this body for the first time in 35 years.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Illinois.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Illinois will not proceed until the Senate is in order.

The Senator from Illinois may proceed.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I shall vote against cloture, for two reasons:

First, the advocates of the bill, with the exception of a brief appearance by the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] and yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. KERR], have not really presented their case and have not permitted us to ask sufficient questions about the technique, the methods, or the corporation which may control this venture, or about other related matters.

Second, after 15 years as a Member of the Senate, I am tired of the one-sided application of the rules of the Senate and the use of rule XXII and other devices by the opponents of civil rights legislation, and also of what we regard as progressive legislation, to defeat those measures by interminable debate and other delaying tactics.

While such tactics are conducted and legitimized, I do not wish to disarm those who favor progressive legislation. I believe in mutual disarmament—both international and national—but I do not believe in unilateral disarmament, and I do not believe in taking away from conscientious Senators the one weapon they have left.

The Senate should proceed in January to change the rules; but while the rules exist, I shall not strip their protection from those who are fighting for what they believe to be the defense of the American people. The Senators from

Oregon and Tennessee and their associates have the right to carry their side-arms into battle in view of the fact that their opponents are so heavily armed.

Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, the bill before the Senate presents us with many problems. I have prepared a speech which I hope I shall have the opportunity to make. I have not had the opportunity up to this time. Therefore, I, too, will vote against the motion for cloture.

I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, at the outset, I wish to make it crystal clear that I do not join in the criticism of the majority leader, the assistant majority leader, or the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], or many other able Senators, who have given weeks of their time to the consideration of this complex bill. What I am specifically interested in is the debates which took place yesterday on two important issues. One had to do with the vesting in the President of more control of international relations. This subject, which was germane to the bill, was intelligently debated, but the proposal was defeated.

The second issue was the question of how much authority should be vested in the President to determine the difference between possible systems, that is, either the low orbital system or the high orbital system. Those were intelligent debates; there was no filibustering on those questions at all.

I believe I am correct in stating that the business which would be pending before the Senate, should cloture be rejected, would be one of the most important amendments to the entire bill, and on that question I am sure we would have one of the finest debates. That amendment has to do with the vital question whether the power of NASA should be enlarged. To do what? To lease as contract on a cost-plus basis. With whom? Of course, in all probability they would negotiate with the telephone company and other communication carriers. I do not believe the majority leader or the President or anyone else wishes to initiate a giveaway program, and I do not so charge. But I do say that the motion for cloture at this time is premature. I say that the debate up until this point has not been of sufficient duration. Yet for the first time in the history of America it is proposed to grant great power to a private corporation in a new field of science which is in its infancy. This is a proper subject for debate, not a filibuster. I believe the issue should be thoroughly probed. Searching questions should be asked and answered.

Mr. President, I ask the able Senator from Oregon if I have correctly stated that his amendment is now pending before the Senate.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator has made a correct statement.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, under those conditions, I shall have to vote against the motion for cloture. Let me suggest that if the motion should fail, and if I correctly read the press reports, the majority leader—and he is my friend—within his rights—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time of the Senator from Colorado has expired.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, may I have another minute?

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield one-half minute to the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. CARROLL. The majority leader can immediately file another petition for cloture. The Senate will vote again in 2 or 3 days. I believe the majority leader has stated to the press that if that motion did not then prevail, he would then move to set the present bill aside and have the Senate move on to the consideration of other important business. In my opinion, there is no great immediate emergency to enact a communications satellite bill. That is the opinion of other Senators and American leaders who have studied this subject very carefully.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished junior Senator from Oregon.

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oregon will suspend her remarks until the Senate is in order and the marching around the Chamber stops. The Chair is unable to understand why Senators need so many aides in the Chamber.

The Senator from Oregon may proceed.

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, it is natural for both sides to defend the positions which they have taken on the bill. Much has been said during the short time remaining to us about procedure. I should like to express my opinion and my thoughts and the reason why I have taken the stand I have.

The big advertisement on the back page of the first section of the New York Times this morning reads:

A.T. & T. \* \* \* is, by far, the world's biggest business. Without it, we could not call home \* \* \* or fight a nuclear war.

Mr. President, I do not want a private corporation to have this hold upon me.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield 5 seconds to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit two amendments and have them printed as if read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendments will be received, printed, and will lie on the table; and the amendments will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendments are as follows:

On page 25, line 16, insert the following: "and conduct any negotiations affecting the corporation or the communications satellite system with such governments, entities, or bodies when in his judgment the foreign policy or national interest of the United States requires."

Beginning with line 3, page 38, strike out all to and including line 14, page 38, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

#### "FOREIGN NEGOTIATIONS"

"SEC. 402. The corporation shall not enter into negotiations with any international agency, foreign government, or entity without a prior notification to the President, who will conduct or supervise such negotiations. All agreements and arrangements with any such agency, government, or entity shall be subject to the approval of the President."

On page 31, beginning with line 16, strike out everything through "corporation." On line 6, page 32, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"SEC. 303. (a) The corporation shall have a board of directors consisting of individuals who are citizens of the United States, of whom one shall be selected annually by the President of the United States to serve as chairman. Five members of the board shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, effective the date on which the other members are elected, and for terms of five years or until their successors have been appointed and qualified, except that the first five members of the board so appointed shall continue in office for terms of one, two, three, four, and five years, respectively, and any member so appointed to fill a vacancy shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the director whom he succeeds. Five members of the board shall be elected annually by those stockholders who are communications common carriers and five shall be elected annually by the other stockholders of the corporation."

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I send to the desk an amendment and ask that it be printed in the RECORD and treated as read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendment will be received and printed, and will lie on the table; and the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof the following: "That this Act may be cited as the 'Space Communications Act'."

#### "TITLE I—DECLARATION OF POLICY AND DEFINITIONS"

##### "Declaration of policy and purpose"

"SEC. 101. (a) The Congress hereby declares that it is the policy of the United States to establish, in conjunction and in cooperation with other countries, as expeditiously as practicable a commercial communications satellite system, as part of an improved global communications network, which will be responsive to public needs and national objectives, which will serve the communication needs of the United States and other countries, and which will contribute to world peace and understanding.

"(b) The new and expanded space communications services are to be made available as promptly as possible and are to be extended to provide global coverage at the earliest practicable date. In effectuating this program, care and attention will be directed toward providing such services to economically less developed countries and areas as well as those more highly developed, toward efficient and economical use of the electromagnetic frequency spectrum, and toward the reflection of the benefits of this new technology in both quality of services and charges for such services.

"(c) In order to facilitate this development, United States participation in the global system shall be the responsibility of the Space Communications Commission es-

tablished by this Act. It is the intent of the Congress that such Commission, acting in cooperation with other departments and agencies of the Government under policies approved by the President, shall provide facilities for the rendition of space communication service, and shall provide for the operation of such facilities by authorized communications carriers. It is further the intent of the Congress that such operation shall be conducted under terms and conditions effective to insure nondiscriminatory access to such facilities and the rendition of effective and economical service to the Government for its requirements and to the public.

"(d) It is the intent of the Congress that insofar as practicable the communications satellite system shall be used for domestic as well as for international communication service. It is not the intention of the Congress to preclude the creation of additional communications satellite systems which may be required for communications needs.

#### "Definitions"

"SEC. 102. As used in this Act—

"(1) the term 'communications satellite system' means a system of communications satellites in space whose purpose is to relay telecommunication information between satellite terminal stations, including communications satellites, satellite terminal stations, and associated equipment and facilities required for launching, tracking, guiding, controlling, commanding, and utilizing communications satellites for space communications purposes;

"(2) the term 'satellite terminal station' means a complex of communication equipment located on the earth's surface, operationally connected with one or more terrestrial communication systems, which is capable of transmitting telecommunications to or receiving telecommunications from a communications satellite system.

"(3) the term 'communications satellite' means an earth satellite which is intentionally used to relay telecommunications information;

"(4) the term 'associated equipment and facilities' means all facilities (other than satellite terminal stations and communications satellites) required for the primary purpose of establishing and operating a communications satellite system, whether for administration and management, for research and development, or for direct support of the space operations incident to the rendition of space communications service;

"(5) the term 'space communications service' means the rendition or furnishing of telecommunication service through the use in whole or in part of a communications satellite system;

"(6) the term 'telecommunication' means any transmission, emission or reception of signs, signals, writings, images, and sounds or intelligence of any nature by wire, radio, optical, or other electromagnetic systems;

"(7) the term 'research and development' means the conception, design, and first creation of experimental or prototype operational devices for the operation of a communications satellite system, including the assembly of separate components into a working whole, but does not include the construction of such devices through repetitive duplication to fixed specifications compatible for operational applications;

"(8) the term 'communications common carrier' has the same meaning as the term 'common carrier' has when used in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended;

"(9) the term 'authorized carrier' means a communications common carrier which has been authorized by the Federal Communications Commission under the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to provide services by means of communications satellites;



"(10) the term 'Commission' means the Space Communications Commission established by this Act;

"(11) the term 'Administration' means the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; and

"(12) the term 'Communications Commission' means the Federal Communications Commission.

**"TITLE II—FEDERAL PLANNING, COORDINATION, AND REGULATION**

**"The President**

"Sec. 201. In order to achieve the objectives and to carry out the purposes of this Act the President shall—

"(1) plan, develop, and supervise, and foster the execution, of a national program for the establishment by the Commission and the operation, as expeditiously as possible, of a communications satellite system;

"(2) provide through the National Aeronautics and Space Council for the continuous review and coordination of the activities of all Government departments and agencies in all phases of the development and operation of such a system;

"(3) supervise relationships of the Commission with foreign governments, other foreign entities, and international organizations as may be necessary to assure that such relationships shall be consistent with the national interest and the foreign policy of the United States;

"(4) insure that timely arrangements are made under which there can be foreign participation in the establishment and use of a worldwide communications satellite system;

"(5) take all necessary steps to insure the availability of the communications satellite system for general governmental purposes; and

"(6) take appropriate action for the attainment of coordinated and efficient use of the electromagnetic spectrum and the technical compatibility of the system with communications facilities in the United States and abroad.

**"National Aeronautics and Space Administration**

"Sec. 202. To carry out the purposes of this Act, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, under policies approved by the President, shall—

"(1) advise and consult with the Commission and the Communications Commission as to the technical characteristics and requirements of the communications satellite system;

"(2) cooperate with the Commission in research and development activities required for the establishment and operation of the communications satellite system;

"(3) assist the Commission in the conduct of its research and development program by furnishing to the Commission, on a reimbursable basis, such satellite launching and associated services as may be necessary for the most expeditious and economical establishment and development of a communications satellite system;

"(4) furnish to the Commission, on request and on a reimbursable basis, satellite launching and associated services required for the establishment, operation, and maintenance of the communications satellite system; and

"(5) furnish to the Commission, on a reimbursable basis, such other services as it may require in connection with the establishment and operation of the system.

**"Federal Communications Commission**

"Sec. 203. (a) To carry out the purposes of this Act, the Federal Communications Commission, in its administration of the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, and as supplemented by this Act, shall—

"(1) upon application made by any communications common carrier which is obligated by lease, contract, or other arrangement with the Commission to render space communications service through the use of facilities of the Commission, grant authorization to such carrier for the rendition of that service under such terms and conditions as the Federal Communications Commission shall determine to be required for compliance with the provisions of this Act;

"(2) insure effective competition, including the use of competitive bidding where appropriate, in the procurement by authorized communications common carriers of apparatus, equipment, and services required for the rendition of space communications service;

"(3) insure that all departments and agencies of the United States shall have full and adequate space communication service, and that all present and future authorized carriers shall have nondiscriminatory use of, and equitable access to space communication service;

"(4) insure that all space communication service is rendered under just and reasonable charges, classifications, practices, and regulations; such services rendered to the United States Government and agencies thereof shall be at preferential rates;

"(5) prescribe such other terms and conditions as may be required to regulate in the public interest the manner in which available facilities of the communications satellite system are allocated among users of space communications service;

"(6) render such advice and assistance to the Commission as may be required to insure that facilities of the communications satellite system and satellite terminal stations are technically compatible and interconnected operationally with each other and with existing communications facilities;

"(7) prescribe such accounting regulations and systems, and initiate such rate-making proceedings, as will insure that any economies to communications common carriers made possible through the use of the communications satellite system are appropriately reflected in reductions in rates charged by such carriers for communications services; and

"(8) make such rules and regulations as the Federal Communications Commission shall determine to be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(b) In order to insure that small business concerns are given an equitable opportunity to share in the procurement programs of the Commission and communications common carriers for property and services (including but not limited to research, development, construction, maintenance and repair), the Federal Communications Commission shall cooperatively develop with the Small Business Administration within four months after the effective date of this Act a small business contracting program which shall contain such provisions as may be necessary to (A) enable small business concerns to receive, either directly or as subcontractors, a fair proportion of the contracts and procurements for property and services (including but not limited to research, development, construction, maintenance, and repair) awarded in the implementation and effectuation of the purposes of this Act, and (B) enable the Small Business Administration to obtain from the Commission and communications common carriers such reasonably obtainable information concerning contracts and procurements, including subcontracts thereunder, awarded in the implementation and effectuation of the purposes of this Act. In the event the Federal Communications Commission and the Small Business Administration cannot reach agreement on any matter with regard to the development of the small business contracting program, the matter in disagreement shall

be submitted to the President who shall make the final determination.

**"Secretary of State**

"Sec. 204. Under the direction of the President, the Secretary of State shall conduct or supervise such negotiations with foreign governments and international bodies as may be required for the attainment of the objectives described in section 101 of this Act.

**"TITLE III—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SPACE COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION**

**"Space Communications Commission**

"Sec. 301. (a) There is established a Space Communications Commission, which shall be composed of five members, each of whom shall be a citizen of the United States. The President shall designate one member of the Commission as Chairman thereof to serve as such during the pleasure of the President.

"(b) The Chairman may from time to time designate any other member of the Commission as Acting Chairman to act in the place of the Chairman during his absence. The Chairman (or the Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chairman) shall preside at all meetings of the Commission and a quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of at least three members present.

"(c) Each member of the Commission, including the Chairman, shall have equal responsibility and authority in all decisions and actions of the Commission, shall have full access to all information relating to the performance of his duties or responsibilities, and shall have one vote. Action of the Commission shall be determined by a majority vote of the members present. The Chairman (or Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chairman) shall be the official spokesman of the Commission in its relations with the Congress, Government agencies, persons or the public, and on behalf of the Commission, shall see to the faithful execution of the policies and decisions of the Commission, and shall report thereon to the Commission from time to time or as the Commission may direct.

"(d) The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

**"Appointment, terms, and compensation of members**

"Sec. 302. (a) Members of the Commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In submitting any nomination to the Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and qualifications of the nominee. Each member, except the Chairman, shall receive compensation at the rate of \$22,000 per annum. The member designated as Chairman shall receive compensation at the rate of \$22,500 per annum.

"(b) The term of office of each member of the Commission taking office after June 30, 1962, shall be five years, except that (1) the terms of office of the members first taking office after June 30, 1962, shall expire as designated by the President at the time of the appointment, one at the end of one year, one at the end of two years, one at the end of three years, one at the end of four years, and one at the end of five years, after June 30, 1962; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

"(c) Any member of the Commission may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

"(d) No individual who is affiliated with any communications common carrier may serve as a member of the Commission. As used in this subsection—

"(1) the term 'person affiliated with a communications common carrier' means any individual who is an officer or a director, or who holds legal title to or any beneficial interest in more than 200 shares of the stock

of any class, of any corporation which is a communications common carrier or a parent or subsidiary corporation of any such common carrier;

"(2) the term 'parent corporation' means a corporation which has control over another corporation;

"(3) the term 'subsidiary corporation' means a corporation which is subject to control by another corporation; and

"(4) the term 'control', when used with respect to any corporation, means (A) the beneficial ownership of more than 25 per centum of the share capital of any class of that corporation, or (B) the exercise in fact of control over the policies or activities of that corporation by contract or otherwise.

#### *"Principal office*

"Sec. 303. (a) The principal office of the Commission shall be in or near the District of Columbia, but the Commission or any duly authorized representative may exercise any or all of its powers in any place.

"(b) The Commission shall maintain an office for the service of process and papers within the District of Columbia.

#### *"General Manager, Deputy, and Assistant General Managers*

"Sec. 304. There is established within the Commission—

"(a) a General Manager, who shall be the chief executive officer of the Commission, and who shall discharge such of the administrative and executive functions of the Commission as the Commission may direct. The General Manager shall be appointed by the Commission, shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission, shall be removable by the Commission, and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the Commission, but not in excess of \$22,000 per annum.

"(b) A Deputy General Manager, who shall act in the place of the General Manager during his absence when so directed by the General Manager, and who shall perform such other administrative and executive functions as the General Manager shall direct. The Deputy General Manager shall be appointed by the General Manager with the approval of the Commission, shall serve at the pleasure of the General Manager, shall be removable by the General Manager, and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the General Manager, but not in excess of \$20,500 per annum.

"(c) Assistant General Managers, or their equivalents (not to exceed a total of three positions), who shall perform such administrative and executive functions as the General Manager shall direct. They shall be appointed by the General Manager with the approval of the Commission, shall serve at the pleasure of the General Manager, shall be removable by the General Manager, and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the General Manager, but not in excess of \$20,000 per annum.

#### *"Other officers*

"Sec. 305. There shall be established within the Commission—

"(a) such program divisions (not to exceed ten in number) as the Commission may determine to be necessary for the discharge of its responsibilities. Each such division shall be under the direction of a Director who shall be appointed by the Commission and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the Commission but not in excess of \$19,000 per annum. The Commission shall require each such division to exercise such of the Commission's administrative and executive powers as the Commission may determine;

"(b) an office of the General Counsel, which shall be under the direction of a General Counsel, who shall be appointed by the Commission and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the Com-

mission, but not in excess of \$19,500 per annum;

"(c) an Inspection Division, which shall be under a Director, who shall be appointed by the Commission and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the Commission, but not in excess of \$19,500 per annum. The Inspection Division shall be responsible for gathering information to ascertain whether the contractors, licensees, and officers and employees of the Commission are complying with the provisions of this Act and applicable rules and regulations of the Commission; and

"(d) such other executive management positions (not to exceed six in number) as the Commission may determine to be necessary to be discharged of its responsibilities. Such positions shall be established by the General Manager with the approval of the Commission. They shall be appointed by the General Manager with the approval of the Commission, shall be removable by the General Manager, and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the General Manager, but not in excess of \$18,500 per annum.

#### *"Employees of the Commission*

"Sec. 306. In the performance of its functions the Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Commission. Such officers and employees shall be appointed in accordance with the civil service laws and their compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, except that, to the extent the Commission deems such action necessary to the discharge of its responsibilities, personnel may be employed and their compensation fixed without regard to such laws. No officer or employee (except such officers and employees whose compensation is fixed by law, and scientific and technical personnel) whose position would be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, if such Act were applicable to such position, shall be paid a salary at a rate in excess of the rate payable under such Act for positions of equivalent difficulty or responsibility. The Commission shall make adequate provision for administrative review of any determination to dismiss any employee.

#### *"Space Communication Advisory Committee*

"Sec. 307. (a) There shall be a Space Communication Advisory Committee to advise the Commission on scientific and technical matters relating to materials, production, and research and development required for the establishment and operation of the communications satellite system. The Committee shall be composed of nine members, who shall be appointed from civilian life by the President from individuals specially qualified by training and experience to render such advice.

"(b) Each member of the Committee shall hold office of a term of six years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and (2) the terms of office of the members first taking office after September 1, 1962 shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, three at the end of two years, three at the end of four years, and three at the end of six years, after September 1, 1962.

"(c) The Committee shall designate one of its own members as Chairman. The Committee shall meet at least four times in every calendar year.

"(d) Members of the Committee shall receive a per diem compensation not exceeding \$100 for each day spent in meetings or conferences, and shall be reimbursed for necessary traveling and other expenses incurred while engaged in the work of the Committee.

#### *"TITLE IV—POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION*

##### *"Duties of the Commission*

"Sec. 401. (a) In order to achieve the objectives and to carry out the purposes of this Act, the Commission, through the exercise of powers conferred upon it by section 402, shall—

"(1) plan, initiate, construct, own, manage, and maintain the communications satellites, satellite terminal stations, and associated equipment and facilities which comprise the contribution of facilities of the United States to the establishment and maintenance of the communications satellite system in conformity with international agreements entered into with the approval of the President; and

"(2) provide, by contract, lease, or other arrangement, for the rendition by communications common carriers of space communication service for the public and for departments and agencies of the United States, through the use of the facilities of the Commission, in compliance with the provisions of this Act. Communications services utilizing satellite communication facilities shall be provided to departments and agencies of the United States at special preferential rates.

"(b) Each contract, lease, or other arrangement entered into by the Commission for the rendition of space communication service by any communications common carrier through the use of facilities of the Commission shall contain such provisions as the Commission, with the approval of the Attorney General, shall determine to be effective to insure—

"(1) the rendition by that carrier of adequate, efficient, nondiscriminatory and economical space communications service to the public and to departments and agencies of the Government;

"(2) compliance by that carrier with the provisions of this Act and with applicable orders, rules, and determinations made by the Commission and by the Federal Communications Commission with respect to the rendition of such service;

"(3) compliance by that carrier with the provisions of applicable treaties and agreements in effect between the United States and foreign governments with respect to the operation of the communications satellite system;

"(4) payment by that carrier to the Commission for the use of facilities of the Commission of compensation at rates adequate to reimburse the Commission for all costs incurred by the United States in providing those facilities; and

"(5) compliance by that carrier with such terms and conditions, consistent with policies prescribed by the President, as the Commission shall include in that contract, lease, or other arrangement to carry into effect the provisions of this Act.

##### *"General powers of the Commission*

"Sec. 402. In the performance of its functions, the Commission is authorized—

"(1) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations governing the manner of its operations and the exercise of the powers vested in it by law;

"(2) to acquire in conformity with the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (by purchase, lease, condemnation, or otherwise) real and personal property (including patents), or any interest therein within and outside the continental United States;

"(3) to acquire by lease or otherwise, through the Administrator of General Services, buildings or parts of buildings in the District of Columbia for the use of the Administration for a period not to exceed ten years without regard to the Act of March 3, 1877 (40 U.S.C. 34);



"(4) to dispose of real and personal property (including patents and rights thereunder) in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949;

"(5) to accept unconditional gifts or donations of services, money, or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible;

"(6) to enter into and perform such contracts, leases, cooperative agreements, or other transactions as may be necessary in the conduct of its work and on such terms as it may deem appropriate, with any agency or instrumentality of the United States, or with any State, Territory, or possession, or with any political subdivision thereof, or with any person, firm, association, corporation, or educational institution;

"(7) to use, with their consent, the services, equipment, personnel, and facilities of Federal and other agencies with or without reimbursement, and on a similar basis to cooperate with other public and private agencies and instrumentalities in the use of services, equipment, and facilities. Each department and agency of the Federal Government shall cooperate fully with the Commission in making its services, equipment, personnel, and facilities available to the Commission, and any such department or agency is authorized, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to transfer to or to receive from the Commission, without reimbursement, equipment, facilities, and supplies (other than administrative supplies or equipment) required for the performance of the duties of the Commission;

"(8) to obtain services as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), at rates not to exceed \$100 per diem for individuals;

"(9) when determined by the Commission to be necessary, and subject to such security investigations as he may determine to be appropriate, to employ aliens without regard to statutory provisions prohibiting payment of compensation to aliens; and

"(10) (A) to consider, ascertain, adjust, determine, settle, and pay, on behalf of the United States, in full satisfaction thereof, any claim for \$5,000 or less against the United States for bodily injury, death, or damage to or loss of real or personal property resulting from the conduct of the functions of the Commission if such claim is presented to the Commission in writing within two years after the accident or incident out of which the claim arises; and

"(B) if the Commission considers that a claim in excess of \$5,000 is meritorious and would otherwise be covered by this paragraph, to report the facts and circumstances thereof to the Congress for its consideration.

#### "Property rights in inventions

"SEC. 403. (a) Whenever any invention is made in the course of or incident to the performance of any contract entered into by or on behalf of the Commission, such invention shall be the exclusive property of the Commission, and if such invention is patentable, a patent therefor shall be issued to the Commission notwithstanding any other provision of law upon application made by the Commission unless the Commission waives all or any part of its rights to such invention in compliance with the provisions of this section. No patent may be issued to any applicant other than the Commission for any invention which appears to the Commissioner of Patents to have significant utility in the development or operation of a communications satellite system, a satellite terminal station, or associated equipment and facilities unless—

"(1) the applicant files with the Commissioner of Patents, with the application or within thirty days after request therefor by the Commissioner, a written statement executed under oath setting forth the full facts concerning the circumstances under which

such invention was made and stating the relationship (if any) of such invention to the performance of any contract of the Commission; and

"(2) the Commission transmits to the Commissioner of Patents a written certification to the effect that such invention is not subject to the provisions of this section.

Copies of each such statement and the application to which it relates shall be transmitted forthwith by the Commissioner of Patents to the Commission.

"(b) Whenever application is made by the Commission under subsection (a) for the issuance of any patent to the Commission, determination of any question arising with respect to its entitlement under that subsection to receive that patent shall be made in conformity with the provisions of subsections (d) and (e) of section 305 of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 (42 U.S.C. 2457).

"(c) Each contract entered into by the Commission with any party for the performance of any scientific, technological, or developmental activity shall contain effective provisions under which such party shall furnish promptly to the Commission a written report containing full and complete technical information concerning any invention, discovery, improvement, or innovation which may be made in the performance of such activity.

"(d) Under such regulations as the Commission shall adopt in compliance with the provisions of this section the Commission may waive all or any part of its proprietary rights under this section with respect to any invention or class of inventions made, or which may be made, by any person or class of persons in the performance of any activity required by any contract of the Commission if the Commission determines that the fulfillment of the purposes of this act will be facilitated thereby. Any such waiver may be made upon such terms and under such conditions as the Commission shall determine to be required for the protection of the public interest. Each such waiver made with respect to any invention shall include provisions effective to reserve an irrevocable, nonexclusive, nontransferable, royalty-free license for the practice of such invention throughout the world by or on behalf of the United States Government or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof, or any foreign government pursuant to any treaty or agreement with the United States. Each proposal for any waiver under this subsection shall be referred to an Inventions Board which the Commission shall establish. Such Board shall accord to each interested party an opportunity for hearing, and shall transmit to the Commission its findings of fact with respect to each such proposal and its recommendations for action to be taken with respect thereto.

"(e) The Commission shall determine, and promulgate regulations specifying, the terms and conditions upon which licenses will be granted by the Commission for the practice by any nongovernmental person of any invention for which the Commission holds a patent.

"(f) The Commission shall take suitable and necessary action to protect any invention or discovery in which it has any proprietary interests. The Commission shall take appropriate action to insure that any nongovernmental person who acquires any proprietary interest in any invention or discovery under this section will take appropriate action to protect that invention or discovery.

"(g) As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'person' means any individual, partnership, corporation, association, institution, or other entity;

"(2) the term 'contract' means any actual or proposed contract, agreement, understanding, or other arrangement, including

any assignment, substitution of parties, or subcontract executed or entered into thereunder; and

"(3) the term 'made,' when used in relation to any invention, means the conception or first actual reduction to practice of such invention.

#### "Control in time of war

"SEC. 404. Each contract, lease, or other arrangement entered into by the Commission for the use, by any communications common carrier, of any property of the Commission shall contain provisions effective to insure that in time of war or national emergency declared by the President or by the Congress, the Commission may take possession and assume control of all or any part of such property for the use of the Government of the United States or any of the armed forces thereof.

#### "TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS

##### "Applicability of Communications Act of 1934

"SEC. 501. The provision of space communication service by one communications common carrier to one or more other communications common carriers shall be deemed to be a common carrier activity fully subject to the Communications Act of 1934, as amended. Whenever the application of the provisions of this Act is determined to be inconsistent with the application of the provisions of the Communications Act of 1934, the provisions of this Act shall govern.

##### "National Aeronautics and Space Council

"SEC. 502. Section 201 (a) of the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958 (42 U.S.C. 2471 (a)), is amended by—

"(1) striking out the word 'and' where it appears following the semicolon in paragraph (4) thereof;

"(2) striking out the period at the end thereof, and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word 'and'; and

"(3) adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(6) the Chairman of the Space Communications Commission."

#### "Reports to the Congress

"SEC. 503. (a) The President shall transmit to the Congress in January of each year a report which shall include (1) a comprehensive description of the activities and accomplishments of departments and agencies of the Government during the preceding calendar year under the provisions of this Act; (2) an evaluation of such activities and accomplishments in terms of the attainment of the objectives of this Act; and (3) any recommendations for additional legislative or other action which the President may consider necessary or desirable for the attainment of such objectives.

"(b) The Commission shall transmit to the President and the Congress, annually and at such other times as it deems desirable, a comprehensive and detailed report of its operations, activities, and accomplishments under this Act.

"(c) The Federal Communications Commission shall transmit to the Congress, annually and at such other times as it deems desirable, a report concerning (1) its activities and actions pursuant to the provisions of this Act; (2) an evaluation of such activities and actions taken by communications common carriers engaged in activities authorized by this Act; and (3) its recommendations for such additional legislation as it may consider to be necessary in the public interest for the effectuation of the purposes of this Act.

#### "Appropriations

"SEC. 504. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to each department and agency of the United States charged with any responsibility under this Act such sums

as may be required for the performance of its duties under this Act."

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a communications satellite system, and for other purposes."

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that amendments I have at the desk be considered as read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The amendments will be received and printed, and will be printed in the RECORD, and will lie on the table.

The amendments are as follows:

After section 404 add the following:

"SEC. 405. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a signed complaint that any person is being deprived of, or is about to be deprived of, the equal protection of the laws, and whenever the Attorney General certifies that, in his judgment, commencement of litigation by such person (1) may create the danger of injury to the person, family, or property of the complainant or of any other person with standing to bring such litigation, or of any counsel retained for purposes of such litigation, or (2) may create the danger of economic sanctions against the complainant or any other person named in (1), the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proper proceeding for relief, including an application for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order.

"(b) Whenever an action has been commenced in any court of the United States seeking relief from the deprivation of the equal protection of the laws, the Attorney General in the name of the United States may intervene in the action with all the rights of a party thereto if he certifies that, in his judgment, the maintenance of the action may result in any of the injuries or economic sanctions set forth in subsection (a).

"(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority of the Attorney General under existing law to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

"(d) In any proceeding under this section the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the party aggrieved shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law."

Strike out all after the enacting clause and in lieu thereof insert the following: "That this Act may be cited as the 'Communications Satellite Authority Act'."

#### "DECLARATION OF POLICY AND PURPOSE"

"SEC. 2. The Congress hereby declares that in order to promote international cooperation and to foster international understanding and peace, it is the policy of the United States to expand and improve international communications by providing leadership in the establishment of a global communication system at the earliest practicable time, making full use of the contributions which can be made by the Government and by private enterprise, and to insure that the benefits of such a system are secured for the betterment of all mankind and all states irrespective of their economic and scientific development. In order to achieve these goals, the Congress hereby provides for ownership and operation of the United States portion of the communications satellite system and invites all nations to participate in the system.

#### "DEFINITIONS"

"SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

"(1) The terms 'private communications carrier', 'common carrier', and 'carrier' means any person engaged as a common carrier for hire, in interstate or foreign communication by wire or radio or in interstate or foreign radio transmission of energy, including persons engaged in radio and television broadcasting.

"(2) The terms 'communications satellite system', 'satellite system', and 'system' include satellites, ground stations, associated ground control and tracking facilities, and other related facilities comprising a system for global communication by satellite, except that any reference to foreign ownership of a 'communications satellite system', 'satellite system', or 'system' refers only to the satellite portion of the system.

#### "COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED"

"SEC. 4. (a) There is hereby created a corporation, to be known as the Communications Satellite Authority (hereinafter referred to as the 'corporation'), whose purpose and object shall be to develop, construct, launch, operate, manage, and promote the use of a communications satellite system, and to foster research and development in the use of space.

"(b) In order to assure a structure of organization and control which will assure maximum possible competition and development of an economical system, the benefits of which will be reflected in communications rates, the corporation shall, as an agent of the United States, acquire, own, and operate the United States portion of the communications satellite system: *Provided, however,* That, where appropriate in the national interest, the corporation may contract with any other person for the operation of some or all of the communications satellite system. The corporation may not enter into such a contract where the effect thereof may be to substantially lessen competition in any line of commerce in any section of the country, or tend to monopoly.

"(c) The corporation shall lease communication channels on a nondiscriminatory and equitable basis to all persons authorized by the Federal Communications Commission to transmit communications via satellites, and shall provide facilities for governmental needs, as part of the commercial system or separately when required to meet unique Government needs which cannot in the national interest be met by the commercial system.

"(d) The corporation, under the foreign policy guidance of the President, and pursuant to agreements made by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall provide opportunities for foreign participation in the use of communications satellites, through ownership or otherwise upon an equitable and nondiscriminatory basis.

"(e) The corporation, under the foreign policy guidance of the President, and pursuant to agreements made by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall provide technical assistance to the less developed states in the development of their communication facilities so that they may make effective use of communications satellites and become an effective part of a global communication system.

#### "BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CORPORATION"

"SEC. 5. (a) The board of directors of the corporation (hereinafter referred to as the 'board') shall be composed of nine members.

"(b) Four directors shall be designated by the President, and shall include an Assistant Secretary of State, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, and an additional member designated from officers of

other departments and agencies of the United States. Directors so designated shall be known as 'governmental directors'.

"(c) Five directors shall also be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, solely on the basis of established records of distinguished achievement, from citizens of the United States in private life who are eminent in science, engineering, technology, education, administration, or public affairs. One of these five may be a representative of the communications industry. Directors so appointed shall be known as 'private directors'. The President shall appoint a chairman of the board from the private directors of the board. The chairman shall serve for a term of two years and may be reappointed for one or more additional terms as chairman.

"(d) The private directors first designated or appointed under this Act shall be designated or appointed for terms expiring two, four, six, seven, and eight years after the effective date of this Act, respectively. Each private member of the board thereafter designated or appointed (other than a member designated or appointed for the unexpired portion of the term of an individual who is one of the initial members of the board) shall have a term of office expiring eight years from the date of the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed.

"(e) Any private member appointed to fill a vacancy in the board occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

"(f) Each governmental director of the board may designate another officer of his department or agency to serve on the board as his alternate in his unavoidable absence. Each alternate member so designated shall be designated to serve as such by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, unless at the time of his designation he holds an office under the United States Government to which he was appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

"(g) Vacancies in the board shall not impair the powers of the board to execute its functions. Five members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the board.

"(h) Each private director shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum, which compensation shall be paid by the corporation from funds of the corporation. Each governmental director while serving as such shall receive the compensation provided by law for the office held by him in the department or agency of the United States from which he was selected. If the compensation so received by any governmental director does not equal the compensation received by private directors, that governmental director shall be paid from funds of the corporation an additional amount which, when combined with the compensation so received, will equal the compensation received by private directors. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to reduce the compensation provided by law for any governmental director in his capacity as an officer of a department or agency of the United States.

"(i) Members of the board while engaged in the performance of duties of the board shall receive from funds of the corporation necessary travel expenses and a per diem allowance in lieu of subsistence computed in accordance with the provisions of section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b-2).

"(j) Members of the board who are private directors shall during their continuance in office devote their full time to the work of the corporation.

"(k) No director other than the communications industry representative provided for in section 5(c) of this Act, may have any



financial interest in any communication carrier corporation engaged in the business of 'wire communications' or 'radio communications' as defined in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

"(1) A director may be removed from the board by the President upon a determination by the President, after notice and an opportunity for hearing, that such director has been guilty of malfeasance or nonfeasance in the performance of his duties as a director.

"(m) Each member of the board, before entering upon the duties of his office, shall subscribe to an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States and to faithfully and impartially perform the duties imposed upon him by this Act.

#### "DUTIES OF THE BOARD

"SEC. 6. (a) The board shall—

"(1) formulate all policies and programs for the development, construction, launching, operation, management, and promotion of the United States portion of the satellite communication system;

"(2) foster research and development in the field of space telecommunications; and

"(3) formulate policies and programs which will assist newly developing countries, and provide an effective global system as soon as practicable.

"(b) The board shall—

"(1) meet upon the call of the chairman, but not less than once in each month; and

"(2) direct the exercise of all the powers of the corporation.

#### "EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

"SEC. 7. (a) The board, without regard to the civil service laws, shall appoint an executive secretary from civilian life, who shall receive compensation at the rate of \$25,000 per annum. Under the supervision and direction of the board, the executive secretary shall be responsible for the execution of all programs and policies formulated by the board, and shall have administrative control over all personnel and activities of the corporation unless otherwise specified in this act.

"(b) The board, without regard to the civil service laws, shall appoint such other officers, employees, attorneys, and agents of the corporation as may be necessary for the performance of its duties; shall fix their compensation and define their duties; shall require bonds of such of them as the board may designate; and shall prescribe rules and regulations to fix responsibility and to promote efficiency in the operations of the corporation.

"(c) The board, without regard to the civil service laws, shall appoint a treasurer and such assistant treasurers as it may deem necessary, each of whom shall give such bonds for the safekeeping of the securities and moneys of the corporation as the board may require.

"(d) Any appointee of the board may be removed in the discretion of the board. No officer or employee of the corporation shall receive compensation at any rate in excess of that of members of the board.

"(e) In the appointment of officials and the selection of employees for said corporation, and in the promotion of any such employee or official, no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration. All such appointments and promotions shall be based exclusively upon merit and efficiency. Any member of the board who is determined by the President, after notice and opportunity for hearing, to be guilty of a violation of this subsection shall be removed from office. Any appointee of the board who is determined by the board after notice and opportunity for hearing, to be guilty of a violation of this subsection shall be removed by the board from his office or employment in the corporation.

#### "COOPERATION OF NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

"SEC. 8. (a) The corporation is hereby authorized—

"(1) to cooperate with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the purpose of obtaining launch vehicles for the satellite system which will facilitate an economical and efficient development of an operational system, launching the satellites and associated services, and consulting with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on the technical specifications for satellites and ground stations and the location of such stations; and

"(2) to consult with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for the purpose of coordinating all research and development programs carried out by the Corporation with research and development programs carried out by private aerospace corporations, private communications carriers, other corporations, and governmental departments and agencies under the supervision of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in order to guarantee rapid and continuous scientific technological progress in a global communication system.

"(b) The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is authorized and directed to furnish to the corporation such facilities, services, supplies, and information as the corporation may require for the performance of its duties. Any expenses so incurred by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration on behalf of the corporation shall be reimbursed by the corporation from its funds. Any sums so received by the Administration shall be credited to the current appropriations of the Administration, and shall be available to the Administration for obligation and expenditure within the fiscal year in which such sums are received.

#### "COOPERATION OF FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION

"SEC. 9. (a) The Federal Communications Commission is authorized and directed to—

"(1) render to the corporation such assistance as may be required to insure that the communications satellite system established by the corporation will be technically compatible with and operationally interconnected with existing terrestrial communication facilities; and

"(2) establish such rules and regulations as may be required to regulate all overseas communication rates established by private communication carriers for the use of facilities of the communications satellite system, and to insure that all such rates are reasonable and related to the cost of leasing channels from the corporation.

"(b) Under such rules and regulations as it shall prescribe, the Federal Communications Commission shall determine the eligibility of United States communications carriers to use the communications channels provided by the corporation, and shall insure equitable and nondiscriminatory access to the system by present and future authorized private communications carriers.

#### "ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

"SEC. 10. (a) The board is hereby authorized to obtain from any department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States with the consent of the head thereof, such facilities, services, supplies, advice, and information as the corporation may determine to be required to enable it to carry out its duties. So far as practicable, the corporation shall utilize the facilities and services of such departments, agencies, and instrumentalities.

"(b) Under the direction of the President, each such department, agency, and instrumentality shall furnish to the corporation, upon a reimbursable basis, such facilities, services, supplies, advice, and information as the corporation may require for the performance of its obligations.

"(c) Any invention or discovery made by any officer or employee of the corporation in consequence of the performance of his duties, or by any officer or employee of the Government of the United States in the rendition of service for the corporation, and title to any patent which may be granted thereon, shall be the sole and exclusive property of the corporation. The corporation is authorized to grant under any such patent such licenses as may be authorized by the board. The board may authorize the payment to any such inventor such sums from the income received by the corporation from the sale of licenses under the patent granted for his invention as it deems proper.

#### "ASSISTANCE FROM PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND INDIVIDUALS

"SEC. 11. (a) There shall be a Space Communication Advisory Committee to advise the corporation on scientific and technical matters relating to materials, production, and research and development required for the establishment and operation of the communications satellite system. The Committee shall be composed of nine members, who shall be appointed from civilian life by the President from individuals specially qualified by training and experience to render such advice. They may be persons associated with the communications and aerospace industries.

"(b) Each member of the Committee shall hold office for a term of six years, except that (1) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and (2) the terms of office of the members first taking office after September 1, 1962, shall expire, as designated by the President at the time of appointment, three at the end of two years, three at the end of four years, and three at the end of six years, after September 1, 1962.

"(c) The Committee shall designate one of its own members as Chairman. The Committee shall meet at least four times in every calendar year.

"(d) Members of the Committee shall receive a per diem compensation not exceeding \$100 for each day spent in meetings or conferences, and shall be reimbursed for necessary traveling and other expenses incurred while engaged in the work of the Committee.

#### "GENERAL POWERS OF THE CORPORATION

"SEC. 12. (a) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this Act, the corporation shall have succession in its corporate name, and shall have power to—

"(1) sue and be sued in its corporate name;

"(2) adopt and use a corporate seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

"(3) adopt, amend, and repeal bylaws;

"(4) make, perform, and enforce contracts as authorized by this Act;

"(5) purchase or lease and hold such real and personal property as it deems necessary or convenient for the performance of its obligations, and to dispose of any personal property held by it;

"(6) acquire real estate for the construction and operation of ground stations and tracking facilities;

"(7) acquire real property by condemnation, in the name of the United States of America, the title to real property so acquired to be taken in the name of the United States of America for the use of the corporation as the agent of the United States to carry into effect the purposes of this Act;

"(8) convey to any person or corporation, by deed, lease, or otherwise, any interest in real property possessed by the corporation when such property no longer is needed by the corporation for the purposes of this Act;

"(9) transfer to any other department, agency, or instrumentality of the United States any part of any real property in the

possession or under the control of the corporation when such property no longer is needed by the corporation for the purposes of this Act;

"(10) enter into, perform, and enforce contracts and agreements of every kind and description with any person, firm, association, corporation, municipality, county, State, body politic, or government or colony or dependency thereof in order to develop, construct, launch, operate, manage, and promote the United States portion of the communications satellite system;

"(11) make such expenditures, and enter into such contracts, agreements, and arrangements, upon such terms and conditions and in such manner as it may deem necessary, including the compromise or final settlement of all claims and legal actions by or against the corporation; and, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law governing the expenditure of public funds, the General Accounting Office, in the settlement of the accounts of the Treasury or other accountable officer or employee of the corporation, shall not disallow credit for, nor withhold funds, because of any expenditure which the board shall determine to have been necessary to carry out the provisions of said Act; and

"(12) determine upon and establish, except as otherwise provided by this Act, a system of administrative accounts, and the form and content of contracts and other business documents of the corporation.

"(b) The corporation shall have such other powers as may be necessary or appropriate for the exercise of the powers herein specifically conferred upon the corporation.

#### "PROCUREMENT OF SUPPLIES AND SERVICES

"Sec. 13. (a) Except as otherwise provided by this section, all purchases and contracts for supplies or services, except for personal services, made by the corporation, shall be made after advertising in such manner and at such times sufficiently in advance of opening bids, as the board shall determine to be adequate to insure public notice and opportunity for competition.

"(b) Advertisement under subsection (a) shall not be required when it is determined under such regulations as the board shall prescribe that—

"(1) an emergency requires immediate delivery of the supplies or performance of the services;

"(2) repair parts, accessories, supplemental equipment, or services are required for supplies or services previously furnished or contracted for; or

"(3) the aggregate amount involved in any purchase of supplies or procurement of services does not exceed \$500, in which case such purchases may be made in the open market.

"(c) In making purchases or contract awards, the board may consider such factors as relative quality and adaptability of supplies or services offered, the supplier's financial responsibility, skill, experience, record of integrity in dealing, and ability to furnish repairs and maintenance services; the time of delivery or performance offered; and compliance of the supplier with specifications prescribed by the corporation.

#### "FINANCIAL ACCOUNTABILITY OF THE CORPORATION

"Sec. 14. (a) The corporation shall maintain its principal office within, or in the immediate vicinity of, the District of Columbia. The corporation shall be an inhabitant and resident of the District of Columbia within the meaning of the laws of the United States relating to the venue of civil suits.

"(b) The board shall transmit to the President and to the Congress, in December of each year, a full and complete financial statement and report as to the activities and accomplishments of the corporation during

the preceding fiscal year ending on June 30, including the total number of officers and employees of the corporation and the names, salaries, and duties of those who receive compensation at the rate of \$7,500 per annum or more.

"(c) The Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct an audit of the financial transactions of the corporation at such times as he shall determine, but not less frequently than once during each fiscal year. For that purpose, the Comptroller General or any representative duly designated by him shall have access to all records necessary to conduct any such audit. Copies of the report of each such audit shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Congress, and the chairman of the board of the corporation, and a copy thereof shall be retained for public inspection at the principal office of the corporation. No such report of audit shall be published until the corporation has had reasonable opportunity to examine any exceptions and criticisms made by the Comptroller General, to point out errors therein, to explain or answer such exceptions and criticisms, and to file a statement which shall be published by the Comptroller General as a part of his report. The corporation shall reimburse the General Accounting Office for the cost of each such audit at such time and in such manner as the Comptroller General shall prescribe from time to time.

"(d) The corporation, its property, franchises, and income, are hereby expressly exempted from taxation in any manner or form by any State, county, municipality, or any subdivision or district thereof.

#### "CAPITAL AND REVENUE OF THE CORPORATION

"Sec. 15. (a) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act to make the corporation self-supporting and self-liquidating, and communication channels shall be leased at rates which in the opinion of the board will produce gross revenues in excess of costs.

"(b) The corporation is authorized to issue and sell bonds, in an amount not exceeding \$500,000,000 outstanding at any one time, to finance the communications satellite program and to refund such bonds. The corporation may, in performing functions authorized by this Act, use the proceeds of such bonds for capital expenditures necessary for the development, construction, launching, management, operation, and promotion of the communications satellite system prescribed by this Act, and for research and development activities incident thereto.

"(c) Principal and interest on bonds issued by the corporation shall be payable solely from the corporation's net communication proceeds. As used in this section, the term 'net communication proceeds' means that portion of the annual gross leasing revenues of the corporation which remains after deducting the aggregate annual cost of launching, operating, maintaining, and administering the satellite system (including the ground stations and the tracking facilities) but before deducting depreciation accruals or other charges representing the amortization of capital expenditures, plus the net proceeds of the sale or other disposition of any communications satellite facilities or any interest therein, and shall include reserve or other funds created from such sources.

"(d) Notwithstanding any provision of this Act or any other provision of law, the corporation may pledge and use its annual net communication proceeds for the annual payment of the principal of and interest on said bonds, for purchases or redemption thereof, and for other purposes incidental thereto, involving creation of reserve funds and other funds which may be similarly pledged and used, to such extent and in such manner as the board deems necessary or desirable. The issuance and

sale of bonds by the corporation and the expenditure of bond proceeds for the purposes specified herein, including additional construction of launching vehicles, satellites, and additional construction of ground stations and tracking facilities, shall not be subject to the requirements or limitations of any other law.

#### "BONDS ISSUED BY THE CORPORATION

"Sec. 16. (a) It is hereby declared to be the intent of this section to aid the corporation in discharging its responsibility for the advancement of a global communications system using space satellites, and the physical, social, and economic development of the United States by providing it with adequate authority and administrative flexibility to obtain the necessary funds with which to assure an ample number of overseas communication channels for such purposes by issuance of bonds or as otherwise provided herein, and this Act shall be so construed as to effectuate such intent.

"(b) Except as otherwise specifically provided by this Act, bonds issued by the corporation under this Act shall be negotiable instruments unless otherwise specified therein, shall be issued in such forms and denominations, shall be sold at such times and in such amounts, shall mature at such time or times not more than fifty years from their respective dates of issuance, shall be sold at such prices, shall bear such rates of interest, may be redeemable before maturity at the option of the corporation in such manner and at such times, and redemption premiums may be entitled to such relative priorities of claim on the corporation's net proceeds with respect to principal and interest payments, and shall be subject to such other terms and conditions, as the board of directors may determine.

"(c) At least fifteen days before the offer by the corporation of any issue of bonds for sale (exclusive of any commitment for any period less than one year) the corporation shall notify the Secretary of the Treasury as to the proposed amount, date of sale, maturities, terms and conditions, and the expected rates of interest of the proposed issue in the fullest detail. If the Secretary so requests, the corporation shall consult with him or with his designee with respect thereto, but the sale and issuance of such bonds shall not be subject to approval by the Secretary of the Treasury except as to the time of issuance, and the maximum rates of interest to be borne by the bonds. If the Secretary of the Treasury does not concur in a proposed issue of bonds hereunder within seven business days following the date on which he is advised of the proposed sale, the corporation may issue to the Secretary and the Secretary shall purchase interim obligations in the amount of the proposed issue which the Secretary is directed to purchase.

"(d) In case the corporation determines that a proposed issue of bonds hereunder cannot be sold on reasonable terms, it may issue to the Secretary interim obligations which the Secretary is authorized to purchase.

"(e) Obligations issued by the corporation to the Secretary may not exceed \$150,000,000 outstanding at any one time. Any obligations so issued to the Secretary shall mature on or before one year from date of issue, and shall bear interest equal to the average rate (rounded to the nearest one-eighth of a percent) on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with maturities from dates of issue of one year or less as of the close of the month preceding the issuance of the obligations of the corporation.

"(f) If agreement is not reached within eight months concerning the issuance of any bonds which the Secretary has failed to approve, the corporation may nevertheless proceed to sell such bonds on any date there-



after without approval by the Secretary in amount sufficient to retire the interim obligations issued to the Treasury and such interim obligations shall be retired from the proceeds of such bonds.

"(g) The corporation may sell its bonds by negotiation or on the basis of competitive bids, subject to the right, if reserved, to reject all bids; may designate trustees, registrars, and paying agents in connection with said bonds and the issuance thereof; may arrange for audits of its accounts and for reports concerning its financial conditions and operations by certified public accounting firms; may, subject to any covenants contained in any bond contract, invest the proceeds of any bonds and other funds under its control which derive from or pertain to its communications satellite program in any securities approved for investment of national bank funds; may deposit said proceeds and other funds, subject to withdrawal by check or otherwise, in any Federal Reserve bank or bank having membership in the Federal Reserve System; and may perform such other acts not prohibited by law as it deems necessary or desirable to accomplish the purposes of this section. Bonds issued by the corporation hereunder shall contain a recital that they are issued pursuant to this subsection, and such recital shall be conclusive evidence of the regularity of the issuance and sale of such bonds and of their validity. The annual report made by the board to the President and to the Congress shall contain a full and detailed statement of all action taken by the corporation under this section during the year.

"(h) The corporation is authorized to enter into binding covenants with the holders of bonds issued under this Act (and with the trustees thereof, if any) under any indenture, resolution, or other agreement entered into in connection with the issuance thereof with respect to the establishment of reserve funds and other funds, adequacy of charges for supplying communication channels, application and use of net communication proceeds, stipulations concerning the subsequent issuance of bonds or such other matters not inconsistent with the Act, as the corporation may deem necessary or desirable to enhance the marketability of said bonds.

"(i) Bonds issued by the corporation hereunder shall be investments which may be accepted as security for all fiduciary trust, and public funds, the investment or deposit of which shall be under the authority or control of any office or agency of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury or any other officer or agency having authority over or control of any such fiduciary, trust, or public funds, may at any time sell any of the bonds of the corporation acquired by them under this section. Bonds issued by the corporation hereunder shall be exempt both as to principal and interest from all taxation now or hereafter imposed by any State or local taxing authority except estate, inheritance, and gift taxes.

#### "APPROPRIATED FUNDS

"Sec. 17. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Secretary of the Treasury for disbursement to the corporation such sums as may be required for the performance of the functions of the corporation under this Act. Appropriated funds so disbursed to the corporation shall be repaid to the Treasury in conformity with the provisions of this section. Unrepaid disbursements of appropriated funds under this section may not at any time exceed \$50,000,000 in the aggregate.

"(b) From net communications proceeds in excess of those required to meet the corporation's obligations under the provisions of any bond or bond contract, the corporation shall, beginning with the first fiscal year

beginning after the effective date of this Act, make the following payments to the Secretary for deposit in the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts on or before December 31 and June 30 of each fiscal year—

"(1) a sum, computed as provided in subsection (c), as a return on the appropriation investment, if any, in the corporation's communications satellite facilities, as determined by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and

"(2) a sum in repayment of appropriation investment in the corporation in such amount as the Secretary of the Treasury shall determine to be available for that purpose without impairing the operations of the corporation.

Such payments shall continue to be made until the total appropriation investment in the corporation shall have been repaid.

"(c) The appropriation investment referred to in subsection (b) shall consist, in any fiscal year, of that part of the corporation's total investment assigned to communications satellite facilities as of the beginning of the fiscal year (including both completed facilities and facilities under construction) which has been provided from appropriations or by transfers of property from other Government agencies without reimbursement by the corporation, less repayments of such appropriation investment made under this Act, or other applicable legislation. The payment as a return on the appropriation investment in each fiscal year shall be equal to the computed average interest rate payable by the Treasury upon its total marketable public obligations as of the beginning of said fiscal year applied to said appropriation investment.

"(d) Payments due to be made under this section may be deferred for not more than two years when in the judgment of the board of directors of the corporation such payment cannot feasibly be made because of inadequacy of funds, due to poor business conditions, emergencies, or other factors beyond control of the corporation.

#### "REVENUE AND APPLICATION THEREOF

"Sec. 18. (a) The corporation shall charge rates for the use of communication channels which will produce gross revenues sufficient to provide funds for the operation, maintenance, and administration of its communications satellite system; provide for the servicing of outstanding bonds, including provision for and maintenance of reserve funds and other funds established in connection therewith; payments to the Treasury as a return on the investment of appropriated funds, if any; and for such additional margin as the board may consider desirable for purposes connected with the corporation's communications satellite system. Such overseas communication rates shall be fixed at levels which are as low as practicable.

"(b) The corporation shall, during each five-year period beginning with the first fiscal year beginning after the effective date of this Act, apply revenues in reduction (directly or through payments into reserve on sinking funds) of its capital obligations, including bonds and appropriation investments, or to reinvestments in the communications satellite system, at least to the extent of the combined amount of the aggregate of the depreciation accruals and other charges representing the amortization of capital expenditures applicable to its communications satellite system.

#### "ACCESS TO PATENTS AND TECHNICAL INFORMATION

"Sec. 19. (a) The corporation, as an instrumentality and agency of the Government of the United States for the purpose of executing its functions under this Act, shall have access at all times to information available in the Patent Office of the United States for the purpose of studying, ascer-

taining, and copying, all methods, formulae, and scientific information (not including access to pending applications for patents) necessary to enable the corporation to use and employ the most efficacious and economical process for the development of a communications satellite system, or any method for improving and cheapening overseas communication rates through the use of a communications satellite system, and any owner of a patent whose patent rights may have been thus in any way copied, used, infringed, or employed by the exercise of this authority by the corporation shall have as the exclusive remedy a cause of action against the corporation for the recovery of reasonable compensation for such infringement. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine such actions. This subsection shall not apply to any art, machine, method of manufacture, or composition of matter, discovered or invented by any officer or employee of the Government of the United States or of the corporation if such invention or discovery was made in the performance of obligations to the Government of the United States or to the corporation.

"(b) The Commissioner of Patents shall furnish to the corporation, at its request and without payment of fees, copies of documents on file in his office.

#### "PROPERTY RIGHTS IN INVENTIONS

"Sec. 20. (a) Whenever any invention is made in the performance of any work performed under any contract entered into by or on behalf of the corporation, such invention shall be the exclusive property of the United States, and if such invention is patentable, a patent therefor shall be issued to the corporation as agent of the United States notwithstanding any other provision of law upon application made by the Executive Secretary, unless the Executive Secretary, acting in conformity with policies and procedures adopted by the board, waives all or any part of the rights of the United States to such invention in compliance with the provisions of subsection (c) of this section. No patent may be issued to any applicant other than the corporation for any invention which appears to the Commissioner of Patents to have significant utility in the development or operation of a communications satellite system unless—

"(1) the applicant files with the Commissioner, with the application or within thirty days after request therefor by the Commissioner, a written statement executed under oath setting forth the full facts concerning the circumstances under which such invention was made and stating the relationship (if any) of such invention to the performance of any work under any contract of the corporation; and

"(2) the Executive Secretary transmits to the Commissioner a written certification to the effect that such invention is not subject to the provisions of this section.

Copies of each such statement and the application to which it relates shall be transmitted forthwith by the Commissioner to the Executive Secretary.

"(b) Each contract entered into by the corporation with any party for the performance of any scientific, technological, or developmental activity shall contain effective provisions under which such party shall furnish promptly to the Executive Secretary a written report containing full and complete technical information concerning any invention, discovery, improvement, or innovation which may be made in the performance of such activity.

"(c) Under such regulations as the board shall adopt in compliance with the provisions of this section the Executive Secretary may waive all or any part of the proprietary rights of the United States under this section with respect to any invention or class of

inventions made or which may be made by any person or class of persons in the performance of any activity required by any contract of the corporation if the Executive Secretary determines that the public interest will be served thereby. Any such waiver may be made upon such terms and under such conditions as the Executive Secretary shall determine to be required for the protection of the public interest. Each such waiver made with respect to any invention shall include provisions effective to reserve an irrevocable, nonexclusive, nontransferable, royalty-free license for the practice of such invention throughout the world by or on behalf of the corporation, the United States Government, or any department, agency, or instrumentality thereof, or any foreign government pursuant to any treaty or agreement with the United States. Each proposal for any waiver under this subsection shall be referred to an Inventions and Contributions Authority which the Executive Secretary shall establish within the corporation. Such Authority shall accord to each interested party an opportunity for hearing, and shall transmit to the Executive Secretary its findings of fact with respect to each such proposal and its recommendations for action to be taken with respect thereto.

"(d) The board of the corporation shall determine, and promulgate regulations specifying, the terms and conditions upon which licenses will be granted by the corporation for the practice of any nongovernmental person of any invention for which the corporation holds a patent on behalf of the United States.

"(e) The Executive Secretary is authorized to take all suitable and necessary action to protect any invention or discovery in which the corporation has any proprietary interest. The Executive Secretary shall take appropriate action to insure that any nongovernmental person who acquires any proprietary interest in any invention or discovery under this section will take appropriate action to protect that invention or discovery.

"(f) The corporation shall be considered a defense agency of the United States for the purpose of chapter 17 of title 35 of the United States Code.

"(g) As used in this section—

"(1) the term 'person' means any individual partnership, corporation, association, institution, or other entity;

"(2) the term 'contract' means any actual or proposed contract, agreement, understanding, or other arrangement, including any assignment, substitution of parties, or subcontract executed or entered into thereunder; and

"(3) the term 'made', when used in relation to any invention, means the conception or first actual reduction to practice of such invention.

#### "SECURITY PROVISIONS

"Sec. 21. (a) The corporation shall establish such security requirements, restrictions, and safeguards as the President shall determine to be necessary in the interest of the national security.

"(b) The Civil Service Commission is authorized to conduct such security or other personnel investigations of the corporation's officers, employees, and consultants, and its contractors and subcontractors and their officers and employees, actual or prospective, as the board deems appropriate; and if any such investigation develops any data reflecting that the individual who is the subject thereof is of questionable loyalty to the Government of the United States the matter shall be referred to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the conduct of a full field investigation, the results of which shall be furnished to the board.

"(c) Whoever willfully shall violate, attempt to violate, or conspire to violate any regulation or order promulgated by the board

of directors of the corporation, the protection or security of any laboratory, station, base, or other facility, or part thereof, or any aircraft, missile, spacecraft, or similar vehicle, or part thereof, or other property of equipment in the custody of the corporation, or any real or personal property or equipment in the custody of any contractor under any contract with the corporation, or any subcontractor of any such contractor, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

#### "PENAL PROVISIONS

"Sec. 22. (a) For the purposes of chapters 1, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 31, 37, 47, 93, 103, 105, and 115 of title 18 of the United States Code, the corporation shall be deemed to be a department of the Government of the United States, and officers, employees, and property of the corporation shall be deemed to be officers, employees, and property, respectively, of the United States.

"(b) Whoever, being an officer, employee, agent, or representative of the corporation, with intent to defraud the corporation or the United States Government or any department or agency thereof, (1) makes any false entry in any book or record of the corporation, or (2) makes any false report or statement with respect to the conduct of the business of the corporation, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

"(c) Whoever, being an officer, employee, agent, or representative of the corporation, or any department or agency of the United States, with intent to defraud the corporation, shall in connection with the performance of any duty arising from his occupancy of any such status solicit or receive directly or indirectly any compensation, rebate, or other valuable consideration to which he is not lawfully entitled, shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

#### "LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

"Sec. 23. The President shall from time to time transmit to the Congress his recommendations for such additional legislation as he may deem necessary or proper to carry out the purposes of this Act.

#### "SAVING PROVISIONS

"Sec. 24. (a) The right to alter, amend, or repeal this Act is hereby expressly declared and reserved to the Congress, but no such amendment or repeal shall operate to impair the obligation of any contract lawfully made by the corporation under any power conferred by this Act.

"(b) If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the remaining provisions of this Act, or the application of such provision to other persons or circumstance, shall not be affected thereby."

On page 30, line 22, insert after the numeral "301" the designation "(a)".

On page 31, between lines 4 and 5 add the following:

"(b) all measures to repeal, alter or amend this Act, together with all amendments to such measures which shall be debated in the Senate of the United States, shall be debated under the following procedure:

"If at any time, notwithstanding the provisions of rule III or rule VI or any other rule of the Senate, a motion, signed by sixteen Senators, to bring to a close the debate upon any such measure, together with all amendments thereto, is presented to the Senate pursuant to this section, the Presiding Officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the fifteenth calendar day thereafter (exclusive of Sundays and legal holidays) he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and, upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the Presiding Officer

shall, without further debate, submit to the Senate by a yeas-and-nays vote the question:

"Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?"

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a majority vote of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, then said measure, together with all amendments thereto as aforesaid, shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

"Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour on the measure, all amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the Presiding Officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the Presiding Officer, shall be decided without debate."

On page 39, line 24, add the following: "All bills embodying such recommendations for additional legislative action shall be debated in the Senate of the United States under the procedure established in Section 301(b) of this Act."

On page 40, line 11, insert after the word "interest" and before the semicolon the following: "which recommendations for additional legislation shall be debated in the Senate of the United States under the procedure established in Section 301(b) of this Act".

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, as the spokesman—and the very proud spokesman—for a very courageous group of Senators who are fighting in the best tradition for the national heritage, I wish to say that we are not asking for mercy; we are asking only for justice and fair treatment. We are fighting for a great principle. We are fighting for the prevention of the giving away of our heritage and of the assets of the Nation. We are acting in the tradition of La Follette, of Lincoln, of Norris, of Teddy Roosevelt, and many others.

No group has ever been more considerate of the majority leadership than we have; and I have yet to hear any statement to the contrary. I hope the majority leader will correct me if I am in error. We urged the majority leader not to bring up the bill on June 15. We pointed out to him that he could not possibly debate the "must" measures which expired on June 30 and have them passed if he did. Nevertheless, he brought it up.

On June 21, he pointed out to us that bills relating to the raising of the debt limit and the extension of taxes and seven or eight "must" measures had to be passed by midnight June 30. By unanimous consent, we agreed to set aside the communications satellite measure, although we had the manpower—and, thank God, the woman power also—to secure any kind of agreement we might possibly have wanted to offer the majority leader, because it was necessary for him to have those "must" measures passed. So we acceded to his request.

The bill was not brought up again until July 27. At that time, the distinguished Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] came before the Senate with a bill to extend appropriations for the month of August. We could have debated the setting aside of the pending measure at



that time and could have tied up the country and have forced the majority leader to an agreement to put the communications satellite bill over until the next session of Congress. But we did not do so. We allowed the appropriations measure to be agreed to and continued the consideration of this bill by unanimous consent.

It is customary to object to committees meeting when the Senate is in session; but knowing of the heavy workload of the Committee on Finance, we agreed that that committee might meet when the Senate was in session for the rest of this session of Congress.

Then, on August 1, while we were still debating whether the bill should be taken up again, we stepped down from another strong position and agreed that the bill should be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and that when it was reported to the Senate it would be the pending business.

If we had wished to do so, we could have prevented the bill from becoming the pending business for a month, for 6 weeks, or for the rest of the session.

Then it came back last Friday noon. The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] had said he would not ask for a live quorum on Saturday. The Foreign Relations Committee report was not in; and I do not know whether it is here yet or not. No one expected that a cloture petition would suddenly be filed on Saturday, when we had had only one-half of a day. But on Saturday morning the cloture petition was filed. The Senator from Montana did request unanimous consent. But the Senator from Oregon was in Oregon and the Senator from North Dakota was in North Dakota, and there were only about four of us here. We did not even have a chance to talk about it, before this rule was put on us.

We have not had time. We want to be treated fairly and justly, so as to be able to present our case. That is all we ask.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The time now being 1 hour after the Senate met today, the Chair, under rule XXII, paragraph 2, lays before the Senate the motion, presented on Saturday last, to bring to a close the debate on House bill 11040, the Communications Satellite Act of 1962, and direct the Secretary to call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 161 Leg.]		
Aiken	Dirksen	Jordan, Idaho
Allott	Dodd	Keating
Bartlett	Douglas	Kefauver
Beall	Eastland	Kerr
Bennett	Ellender	Kuchel
Boggs	Engle	Lausche
Bottum	Ervin	Long, Mo.
Burdick	Fong	Long, Hawaii
Bush	Goldwater	Long, La.
Butler	Gore	Magnuson
Byrd, W. Va.	Gruening	Mansfield
Cannon	Hart	McCarthy
Capehart	Hartke	McGee
Carlson	Hickenlooper	McNamara
Carroll	Hickey	Metcalfe
Case	Hill	Miller
Chavez	Holland	Monroney
Clark	Hruska	Morse
Cooper	Humphrey	Morton
Cotton	Jackson	Mundt
Curtis	Javits	Murphy
	Johnston	Muskie

Neuberger	Scott	Tower
Pastore	Smathers	Wiley
Pearson	Smith, Mass.	Williams, N.J.
Pell	Smith, Maine	Williams, Del.
Prouty	Sparkman	Yarborough
Proxmire	Stennis	Young, N. Dak.
Randolph	Symington	Young, Ohio
Russell	Talmadge	
Saltonstall	Thurmond	

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

The Chair submits to the Senate the following question: Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?

The yeas and nays are required by the rule; and the Secretary will call the roll.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, a point of order. Many persons who are in the Chamber do not have the right to the floor. I ask that the rule be enforced.

The VICE PRESIDENT. All persons in the Chamber who are not entitled to be here by virtue of the rule of the Senate will please retire from the Chamber. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCGEE (when his name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] and the junior Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. If they were able to be present, they would vote "yea." Were I permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." Therefore, I withhold my vote.

The rollcall was concluded.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], is necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. JORDAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. MCCLELLAN], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] would each vote "nay."

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 63, nays 27, as follows:

[No. 162 Leg.]		
YEAS—63		
Aiken	Hart	Monroney
Allott	Hartke	Morton
Beall	Hickenlooper	Mundt
Bennett	Hickey	Murphy
Boggs	Holland	Muskie
Bottum	Hruska	Pastore
Bush	Humphrey	Pearson
Butler	Jackson	Pell
Capehart	Javits	Prouty
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Proxmire
Case	Keating	Randolph
Chavez	Kerr	Saltonstall
Church	Kuchel	Scott
Clark	Lausche	Smathers
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Smith, Mass.
Cotton	Long, Hawaii	Smith, Maine
Curtis	Magnuson	Symington
Dirksen	Mansfield	Wiley
Dodd	McCarthy	Williams, N.J.
Engle	Metcalfe	Williams, Del.
Fong	Miller	Young, N. Dak.

#### NAYS—27

Bartlett	Goldwater	Neuberger
Burdick	Gore	Russell
Byrd, W. Va.	Gruening	Sparkman
Cannon	Hill	Stennis
Carroll	Johnston	Talmadge
Douglas	Kefauver	Thurmond
Eastland	Long, La.	Tower
Ellender	McNamara	Yarborough
Ervin	Morse	Young, Ohio

#### NOT VOTING—10

Anderson	Hayden	Moss
Bible	Jordan, N.C.	Robertson
Byrd, Va.	McClellan	
Fulbright	McGee	

The VICE PRESIDENT. On this vote the yeas are 63, the nays are 27. Two-thirds of the Senators present and voting having voted in the affirmative, the sense of the Senate is that debate shall be brought to a close.

#### TOO MUCH STALEMATE IN LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, my reason for signing the cloture petition and voting for the motion to apply a limitation of debate on the pending communications satellite bill is set forth in a press statement released by me on August 12, 1962. I ask unanimous consent that my position in this matter as reflected in the statement be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Democrat, of West Virginia, is one of the 23 Senators who signed a petition for cloture—a motion to bring debate to a halt in the Senate on the pending communications satellite bill so that there may be a vote on the measure.

The cloture motion, which was filed Saturday, will be voted on under Senate rules an hour after the Senate convenes Tuesday. Cloture cannot be invoked and the present filibuster terminated unless two-thirds of Senators present and voting cast their votes in favor of it.

Senator RANDOLPH said that in addition to having signed the petition, he will be present in the Senate on Tuesday and to vote for the cloture motion. He said this is consistent with his views throughout his career in Congress that discussions on pending business should be totally germane to the subject and that after a reasonable period of debate on any item of legislation it should be placed in a parliamentary position under which it can be brought to a vote on its merits.

"When it is obvious that a small minority of the Senate is resorting to overly extended debate and other maneuvers in order to prevent a measure from being considered by the body or to keep it from reaching the voting stages of procedure," Senator RANDOLPH remarked, "I believe it is time for the Senate as a whole to bring its cloture rule into operation."

The communications satellite bill, he pointed out, passed the House of Representatives overwhelmingly, with only 9 Members of that body having voted against it and over 300 for it. Likewise, he said, three standing committees of the Senate devoted more than 45 days to considering the legislation and all three have overwhelmingly recommended its passage. He noted, too, that before the cloture vote Tuesday, the bill will have been under debate in the Senate 16 days, and he declared:

"I believe, therefore, that after all of this consideration and after 16 days of debate on this measure alone, it is time for the Senate to act on it and move on to other important business. The Senate has historically been a deliberative body—but we must not allow it to become a frustrated body. There is too much stagnation in the

legislative process now and too much stalemate on too many vital matters. We are overdue in moving ahead with the Nation's business, not only as relates to the space satellite bill but also in the fields of legislation on public works, revenue, trade, and others vital to the country's progress."

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I believe it to be pertinent also to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD portions of the editorial entitled "Issue Before the Senate," published in the Washington Post of Tuesday, August 14, 1962.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ISSUE BEFORE THE SENATE

More than the satellite communications bill will be at stake when the Senate votes on cloture this afternoon. The outcome will necessarily have a vital effect on the Kennedy legislative program. If the Senate should refuse to limit debate on the pending bill and thus launch another talkathon of uncertain duration, it would inflict incalculable damage on the administration, the Democratic Party and the country. The question is whether, in a time of continued world tension and on the eve of a congressional election, the Senate will conduct itself as a responsible legislative body.

Senators need to remember also that a vote for cloture will not be, as Senator KEFAUVER has charged, a vote to "ramrod this bill through in silence." As a matter of fact, the bill has already been extensively debated. Additional hearings were held before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee at the behest of the bill's critics. If cloture is voted, each speaker will still have an hour to air his views. We surmise that every Senator knows now how he is going to vote. Further discussion for the sake of the record is reasonable, but the country will have very little patience with endless talk designed to keep the Senate from voting.

Liberal Senators who are concerned about the record of the administration that will be before the voters in November should be especially aware of the danger of talking themselves into an indefensible position. They cannot frustrate Congress and jeopardize the vital bills awaiting action, without giving aid and comfort to their own political enemies. This is no time to be making the Congress appear either ridiculous or helpless or to be recklessly squandering party unity and good will for a Pyrrhic victory.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I reiterate that there is too much stagnation in the legislative process now and too much stalemate on too many vital matters. We are overdue in moving ahead with the Nation's business, not only as relates to the communications satellite bill, but also in the fields of legislation on public works, revenue, trade, and others vital to the country's progress.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE].

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President—

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Presiding Officer calls to the attention of the Senate that no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than 1 hour on the measure, motion, or other matter pending before the Senate, or the unfinished business, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it is the

duty of the Presiding Officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks.

The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield for that purpose?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Yes.

Mr. RUSSELL. A Senator can divide his time as he sees fit; can he not? He can speak 5 minutes on one amendment and 5 minutes on the bill, for example, if he wishes to, can he not?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes; a Senator may divide his time.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Does it come out of my 1 hour?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Yes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield 15 seconds to the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana yields 15 seconds to the Senator from Iowa.

Mr. MILLER. In connection with the business at hand—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair cannot hear the Senator. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, a point of order.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. GORE. A point of order, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. May the Chair have the attention of Senators. The Parliamentarian informs the Chair that the Senator from Montana cannot yield his time to another Senator, although he can yield to a Senator.

Mr. GORE. A point of order, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield for that purpose?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I would prefer to go ahead on my time, but I yield for that purpose.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I happen to occupy a seat on the back row. I can hear nothing of the business that is transpiring. Without any unkindness to all the visitors in the Senate, when the Vice President asked the aides of Senators to take seats or to leave the Chamber my aide left the Chamber. I ask that the aides of all Senators who are not needed to sit beside a Senator in debate leave the Chamber, so that the Senate can conduct its business, and I ask the Presiding Officer to enforce the rule.

The VICE PRESIDENT. It will be helpful to the Chair if Senators present will be cooperative and ask their own aides, unless it is absolutely essential that they remain in the Chamber, to leave the Chamber. It will be assumed any aide of the Senate remaining is absolutely essential to the transaction of the business of the Senate.

It appears that the Senate can operate without the assistance of most of the assistants.

The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to congratulate the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE]. I think the statement he made was long overdue. I am glad, now that the circus aspects of today's meeting have been done away with, that the attachés from various offices have left the floor. I hope that from now on this will not be considered a gathering place for the attachés of the Senate in such numbers as has been the case over the past several days, and most especially today.

Mr. President, I congratulate the Senate on the decision which has just been made. It is neither a victory nor a defeat either for the leadership or for any Member of this body. It is a victory for good sense. It indicates that even in the most difficult circumstances the Senate is capable of effecting an adjustment between the rights of individual Members and the responsibilities of this body as a whole under the Constitution. It is a decision for procedure in this body by reason rather than by recrimination.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana will suspend. The Senate will be in order.

The galleries will be in order.

The Senator from Montana may proceed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I want at this time to express my respect for those who opposed cloture, even as they have opposed the measure to which it was applied. They fight for what they believe in, with the weapons which the rules of the Senate place at the disposal of every individual Member. This they had every right to do, even as every other Member has the right to do so. So long as the present rules of the Senate prevail, it would be most inappropriate for any Member of this body to criticize any other Senator for the exercise of his rights under the rules if he is moved by conviction to exercise them.

That the Senate decided to invoke cloture is no reflection on the opposition to H.R. 11040 in any manner, shape, or form. It in no way discredits the substance of their arguments or their sincerity or the conviction with which they maintain their views.

Cloture means simply that the Senate wishes to make a decision on H.R. 11040 and to get on with other business. I hope that the Senate will now proceed promptly to make this decision so that it may move next to the farm bill, to the drug-control bill, and to other essential legislative and executive business. It will be up to the Senate to decide how quickly it wishes to move through the remainder of the program for this session to adjournment. The leadership will do what it can to hasten this process, but in the last analysis it is the Senate itself which will decide the pace.

Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I appreciate the majority leader's yielding for a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. President, this procedure is so unprecedented—at least within the service of many of us—that I should like



to make two or three parliamentary inquiries.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will those who are in the galleries be in order so that the Chair can hear the Senator from Tennessee, and will the Senator from Tennessee speak louder?

Mr. KEFAUVER. First, Mr. President, each Senator, as I understand, is entitled to 1 hour, which he may divide as he sees fit. Is that correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Can one Senator assign or transfer any part of his hour to another Senator?

The VICE PRESIDENT. He cannot.

Mr. KEFAUVER. The third question is, after a Senator's hour has expired, will it be in order for the Senator to offer an amendment which has been submitted and read into the Record and secure consideration of it?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The rule says that "no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time."

If the amendment has been presented and read prior to this time, it can be voted on.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Let me state a hypothetical case. Several of us have a number of amendments which have been read and were submitted prior to the cloture vote. After a Senator's hour is exhausted, will it be in order for a Senator to offer such amendments as he wishes and to have them read to the Senate and voted on?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Not new amendments.

Mr. KEFAUVER. No.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If the amendments have been previously offered and ordered read and printed in the Record, then they can be called up and voted on.

Mr. KEFAUVER. All of those which have been offered and printed in the Record prior to the vote on cloture?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if I may regain the floor—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Montana is recognized.

Mr. MANSFIELD. While a Senator can parcel out his time, he can parcel it out only to himself. Is that correct?

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. MANSFIELD. So far as amendments are concerned, if they are offered at the conclusion of the hour allocated to a Senator, they will then be nondebateable.

The VICE PRESIDENT. That is correct.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I did not understand the last ruling.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair wishes to point out that the amendments would be nondebateable so far as the Senator whose time has expired is concerned, but 99 other Senators could debate them 99 hours.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I meant, so far as the individual Senator was concerned.

Mr. KERR. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator yield for that purpose?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KERR. If the Senator had used up his hour of time, how could he be recognized for any purpose?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The parliamentarian informs the Chair that the 1-hour limitation is to be applied to debate only; that a Senator could be recognized to call up an amendment without debate.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, a further parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, may I continue my inquiry?

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. In all, so far as debate is concerned, it is not to exceed 100 hours. Is that correct?

Mr. KEFAUVER. Unless we get some more Senators.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Each Senator will be allowed 1 hour. If 100 Senators are present and desire to speak an hour each, the maximum debate will be 100 hours. That would not include quorum calls, rollovers, the calling up of amendments, or routine items.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MANSFIELD. If the Senator from Montana were to take his seat now, as he intends to do, would he, before sitting down, be required to reserve the remainder of the hour allotted to him, or would it be automatically reserved to him?

The VICE PRESIDENT. No. The Chair will be responsible for keeping the time available to each Senator. The Senator will not have to reserve his remaining time.

Mr. MORSE and Mr. KEFAUVER addressed the Chair.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from Montana yield; and, if so, to whom?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MORSE. My amendment is pending at the desk. It provides that the jurisdiction of NASA shall be enlarged so that it would exercise the jurisdiction of the U.S. Government over the development of a satellite communications system, leaving those satellites American flag satellites, but with power to lease and contract out through private corporations in this country interested in a satellite communications system the right to help develop the satellite system. That is the pending amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair has not studied the amendment. The Senator is familiar with his amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MORSE. If the amendment were read, would it be read on the time available to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It would be.

Mr. MORSE. The amendment is on the desk of each Senator. I shall proceed to use such time as I shall need to make a speech on the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will be in order. The Senator will suspend until the Senate is in order. The Chair desires order. Senators will take their seats and the Senate will be in order. Aides of the Senate will take their seats or retire from the Chamber. Occupants of the galleries will be in order.

The Senator from Oregon may proceed.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator will state it.

Mr. MORSE. Am I correct in my understanding that such time as is necessary to obtain order in the Senate will not come out of the time available to me?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator is correct.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, a few minutes ago the Senate cast an historic vote. It will rise to plague the Senate for decades.

As with many great issues, the communications satellite bill has stirred intense feelings.

#### CLOTURE VOTE WAS PREMATURE

There are three brief points I wish to make. The first is, that based upon the precedents accumulated in this Chamber over the past 35 years, the vote for cloture was premature and grossly unfair to the rights of the minority to present their case from the floor of the Senate to the American people.

The proponents of the motion have strained to make it appear that the petition was in order.

The distinguished majority leader came before this body on Friday, August 10, and stated that we were about to begin the 15th day of debate on this bill. On the following day the majority leader corrected the Record to show that at the time of his statement the bill had been before the Senate only 12 days.

I have examined the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the days itemized by the majority leader as days of debate and find that on 4 of these days, June 14, July 25, July 28, and August 1, the bill was before the Senate for 5 minutes or less.

I find further that a tabulation of the debate on specific aspects of this measure, on the basis of the calculations made by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] on August 2, shows that the satellite bill had actually been debated a total of 42 hours and 15 minutes up to yesterday morning. Including the full day of debate yesterday, the total is now just under 50 hours.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator yield to receive a message from the House of Representatives, with the understanding that the time necessary to receive the message will not be charged to the Senator from Oregon?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senate will receive a message from the House of Representatives.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 3315) to relieve owners of abutting property from certain assessments in connection with the repair of alleys and sidewalks in the District of Columbia, with an amendment, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills of the Senate, each with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

S. 2357. An act to provide for the regulation of credit life insurance and credit accident and health insurance in the District of Columbia; and

S. 3086. An act to provide for a reduction in the workweek of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 1341. An act to require passenger-carrying motor vehicles purchased for use by the Federal Government to meet certain safety standards;

H.R. 8563. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia to permit certain policies to be issued to members of duly organized national veterans' organizations;

H.R. 9045. An act to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended;

H.R. 10188. An act to amend sections 2 and 5 of the act entitled "An act to regulate the height, exterior design, and construction of private and semipublic buildings in the Georgetown area of the National Capital," approved September 22, 1950 (64 Stat. 903);

H.R. 11698. An act to amend the act of March 3, 1901, to permit the appointment of new trustees in deeds of trust in the District of Columbia by agreement of the parties;

H.R. 12689. An act to repeal section 557 and to amend section 559 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901; and

H.R. 12727. An act to amend the act of February 28, 1901, to insure that policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia will receive medical care for all injuries and diseases.

#### HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H.R. 1341. An act to require passenger-carrying motor vehicles purchased for use by the Federal Government to meet certain safety standards; to the Committee on Commerce.

H.R. 8563. An act to amend the Life Insurance Act of the District of Columbia to permit certain policies to be issued to members of duly organized national veterans' organizations;

H.R. 10188. An act to amend sections 2 and 5 of the act entitled "An act to regu-

late the height, exterior design, and construction of private and semipublic buildings in the Georgetown area of the National Capital," approved September 22, 1950 (64 Stat. 903);

H.R. 11698. An act to amend the act of March 3, 1901, to permit the appointment of new trustees in deeds of trust in the District of Columbia by agreement of the parties;

H.R. 12689. An act to repeal section 557 and to amend section 559 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901; and

H.R. 12727. An act to amend the act of February 28, 1901, to insure that policemen and firemen in the District of Columbia will receive medical care for all injuries and diseases; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

H.R. 9045. An act to amend the Trading With the Enemy Act, as amended; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11040) to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system, and for other purposes.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on August 2 the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, on page 15492, a tabulation of the debate up until that time, which showed that there had been 12 hours and 27 minutes of debate on this bill.

#### DEBATES OF PAST TWO AND THREE TIMES AS LONG

Let us compare this with some of the recent debates in the past. Assuming that we have had 12 to 16 days of debate—depending on whether the 5-minute sessions count as "days of debate"—this stands in rather marked contrast to the precedent on the Civil Rights Act of 1960 which ran to 37 days of continuous debate between September 15 and April 11, 1960.

In 1953 the tidelands oil debate of 1953 ran to 35 days between April 1 and May 5, 1953.

In 1938 the antilynching bill was filibustered, in the best sense of the word, for 29 days from January 6 through February 21, 1938, during which time only two conference reports and an appropriations bill passed the Senate.

In 1942, 1944, 1946, and 1948 there were four highly organized and extended filibusters on the question of Federal anti-poll tax legislation.

Mr. President, none of these filibusters or debates were shut off by cloture, although they far exceeded the present debate. They exceeded this debate by 100 percent and in two cases about 200 percent in length.

Clearly on the basis of the history of the Senate, cloture was not justified. To invoke it, therefore, under these circumstances wrote an entirely new chapter in the history of this body which will be full of nothing but foreboding for the future.

At this point I should like to have printed in the RECORD a tabulation of the

actual hours and minutes of debate on the satellite bill from June 14 until the present day, together with a history of the outstanding filibusters from 1841 to 1960 which appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 11, 1961. I believe that the record speaks for itself and should conclude the issue in the minds of those who read this RECORD. Therefore, for history I wish that material to be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the tabulation and history were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### TABULATION OF TIME SPENT ON DEBATE OF SATELLITE BILL, H.R. 11040

At the time Mr. MANSFIELD was saying, "Today we begin the 15th day of debate on this bill," the bill had been before the Senate on 13 days for a total of 33 hours 15 minutes.

On 4 of these days, the bill was discussed for 5 minutes or less.

After the August 10 and 11 sessions, the total time spent on the bill had risen to 42 hours 15 minutes.

In addition, 6 hours and 8 minutes were consumed in debate on the Rules in connection with amendment of the Journal.

A daily tabulation and supporting documents follow:

#### Days of debate on H.R. 11040

	Hours	Minutes	Amending Journal	
			Hours	Minutes
June 14.....	0	1½		
June 15.....	2	12		
June 18.....	1	54		
June 19.....	4	40		
June 20.....	1	37		
June 21.....	2	4		
July 25.....	0	1		
July 26.....	0	0	3	5
July 27.....	4	14	3	3
July 28.....	0	5		
July 30.....	8	1		
July 31.....	8	51		
Aug. 1.....	0	5		
Aug. 10.....	3	9		
Aug. 11.....	5	30		
Aug. 13.....	7	44		
Total:				
Until Monday....	42	15		
Until Tuesday....	49	59		
Rule total.....			6	8

NOTE.—Basis of calculation 3 minutes per column, germane talk.

#### OUTSTANDING SENATE FILIBUSTERS FROM 1841 TO 1960

In 1841 a bill to remove the Senate printers was filibustered against for 10 days.

A bill relating to the Bank of the United States was filibustered for several weeks and caused Clay to introduce his cloture resolution.

In 1846 the Oregon bill was filibustered for 2 months.

In 1863 a bill to suspend the writ of habeas corpus was filibustered.

In 1876 an Army appropriation bill was filibustered against for 12 days, forcing the abandonment of a rider which would have suspended existing election laws.

In 1880 a measure to reorganize the Senate was filibustered from March 24 to May 16 by an evenly divided Senate, until two Senators resigned, giving the Democrats a majority.

In 1890 the Blair education bill was filibustered.



The force bill, providing for Federal supervision of elections, was successfully filibustered for 29 days. This resulted in the cloture resolution introduced by Senator Aldrich which was also filibustered and the resolution failed.

In 1893 an unsuccessful filibuster lasting 42 days was organized against a bill for the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act.

In 1901 Senator Carter successfully filibustered a river and harbor bill because it failed to include certain additional appropriations.

In 1902 there was a successful filibuster against a tristate bill proposing to admit Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico to statehood, because the measures did not include all of Indian territory according to the original boundaries.

In 1903 Senator Tillman (South Carolina) filibustered against a deficiency appropriation bill because it failed to include an item paying his State a war claim. The item was finally replaced in the bill.

In 1907 Senator Stone filibustered against a ship subsidy bill.

In 1908 Senator La Follette led a filibuster lasting 28 days against the Vreeland-Aldrich emergency currency law. The filibuster finally failed.

In 1911 Senator Owen filibustered a bill proposing to admit New Mexico and Arizona to statehood. The House had accepted New Mexico, but refused Arizona because of her proposed constitution. Senator Owen filibustered against the admission of New Mexico until Arizona was replaced in the measure.

The Canadian reciprocity bill passed the House and failed through a filibuster in the Senate. It passed Congress in an extraordinary session, but Canada refused to accept the proposition.

In 1913 a filibuster was made against the omnibus public building bill by Senator Stone, of Missouri, until certain appropriations for his State were included.

In 1914 Senator Burton (Ohio) filibustered against a river and harbor bill for 12 hours.

Senator Gronna filibustered against acceptance of a conference report on an Indian appropriation bill.

In this year also the following bills were debated at great length, but finally passed: Panama Canal tolls bill, 30 days; Federal Trade Commission bill, 30 days; Clayton amendments to the Sherman Act, 21 days; conference report on the Clayton bill, 9 days.

In 1915 a filibuster was organized against President Wilson's ship purchase bill by which German ships in American ports would have been purchased. The filibuster was successful, and as a result three important appropriation bills failed.

In 1917 the armed ship bill of President Wilson was successfully filibustered, and caused the defeat of many administration measures. This caused the adoption of the Martin resolution embodying the President's recommendation for a change in the Senate rules, on limitation of debate.

In 1919 a filibuster was successful against an oil and mineral leasing bill, causing the failure of several important appropriation bills and necessitating an extraordinary session of Congress.

In 1921 the emergency tariff bill was filibustered against in January 1921, which led Senator Penrose to present a cloture petition. The cloture petition failed, but the tariff bill finally passed.

In 1922, the Dyer antilynching bill was successfully filibustered against by a group of southern Senators.

In 1923 President Harding's ship subsidy bill was defeated by a filibuster.

In 1925 Senator Copeland (New York) talked at length against ratification of the Isle of Pines Treaty with Cuba, but the treaty was finally ratified.

In 1926 a 10-day filibuster against the World Court protocol was ended by a cloture

vote of 68 to 26, the second time cloture was adopted by the Senate.

A bill for migratory bird refuges was talked to death by States rights advocates in the spring of 1926, a motion for cloture failing by a vote of 46 to 33.

In 1927 cloture again failed of adoption when it was rejected by 32 yeas against 59 nays as a device to end obstruction against the Swing-Johnson bill for development of the Lower Colorado River Basin.

One of the fiercest filibusters in recent decades succeeded in March 1927, in preventing an extension of the life of a special campaign investigating committee headed by James A. Reed, of Missouri. The committee's exposé of corruption in the 1926 senatorial election victories of Frank L. Smith in Illinois and of William S. Vare in Pennsylvania had aroused the ire of a few Senators who refused to permit the continuance of the investigation despite the wishes of a clear majority of the Senate.

In 1933, early in 1933, a 2-week filibuster was staged against the Glass branch banking bill in which Huey Long first participated as a leading figure. "Senators found him impervious to sarcasm and no man could silence him." Cloture was defeated by the margin of a single vote. Finally, the filibuster was abandoned and the bill passed.

In 1935 the most celebrated of the Long filibusters was staged on June 12-13. Senator Long spoke for 15½ hours, a feat of physical endurance never before excelled in the Senate, in favor of the Gore amendment to the proposed extension of the National Industrial Recovery Act. But the amendment was finally tabled.

In 1938 a 29-day "feather duster" filibuster in January-February defeated passage of a Federal antilynching bill, although an overwhelming majority of the Senate clearly favored the bill.

In 1939 an extended filibuster against adoption of a monetary bill, extending Presidential authority to alter the value of the dollar, continued from June 20 to July 5, 1939, but finally failed by a narrow margin.

In 1942, 1944, 1946, and 1948 four organized filibusters upon the perennial question of Federal anti-poll-tax legislation were successful in these years. An attempt to pass fair employment practice legislation in 1946 was also killed by a filibuster. The Senate cloture rule proved ineffective in these cases as a device for breaking filibusters.

In 1949 a motion to take up a resolution (S. Res. 15) to amend the cloture rule was debated at intervals in the Senate from February 28 to March 17 when it was amended and agreed to.

In 1950 a motion to take up the FEPC bill (S. 1728) was debated in the Senate, May 8-19, 1950, a total of 9 days. Ten Senators spoke in favor of the motion to take up (really in support of the bill) and eight Senators spoke against the motion. According to a rough calculation, the proponents of the motion and bill used 35 percent, and the opponents used 65 percent, of the space in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD devoted to the subject. During the 9-day period 3,414 inches of the RECORD were consumed with discussion of FEPC and 2,835 inches with other matters.

Mr. Malone filibustered for 11 hours against the conference report on the slot machine bill (S. 3357) in December 1950.

In 1953 a prolonged debate took place on the so-called tidelands offshore oil bill. It began April 1 and ended May 5. The tidelands debate lasted for 35 days, one of the longest on record. During this debate Senator Morse established a new record for the longest single speech. On April 24-25 he spoke for 22 hours and 26 minutes.

In 1954 an extended debate occurred in July on a bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 (S. 3690). The debate

lasted 13 days. On July 26 Senator Knowland sought to invoke cloture on S. 3690, but his motion failed by a vote of 44 yeas to 42 nays.

In 1957 (August 28-29) during the debate on the civil rights bill of 1957, Senator STROM THURMOND made a 24-hour and 18-minute speech, the longest in Senate history.

In 1960 the Senate debated civil rights from February 15 to April 11. Actual debate on civil rights consumed 37 days, during which 45 rollcalls votes were taken. Eighteen southern Senators conducted a systematic filibuster. In an effort to break the filibuster, around-the-clock sessions were held from February 29 through March 8. The Senate was in continuous session for 9 days, or a total of 157 hours and 26 minutes, with two breaks.

#### LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR CLOTURE

Mr. MORSE. Before I leave this point, however, it should be noted that since the measure first came up on June 14, the opponents of the bill have been highly cooperative in allowing and in actually seeking to bring up important legislation.

The distinguished Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] pointed out in his brief remarks a few minutes ago that on August 10 motions were made to have the Senate consider the administration's farm bill and the drug bill of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER]. The leadership itself took the initiative in defeating these motions.

As I have said to the American people from the floor of the Senate and from the platforms of America, and will continue to say, the responsibility for the defeat of the motion to make the farm bill and the drug bill the pending business of the Senate on August 10 rests squarely on the shoulders of the leadership of the Senate on both sides of the aisle, because they were in complete agreement on a parliamentary tactic to deny to the American people the opportunity to have those pieces of emergency legislation brought to the floor of the Senate on that day.

On August 10, for example, motions were made, as I have said, to make those bills the pending business.

Further, it should be noted that the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was not available for study until this very morning.

My second point is made in passing.

#### AMENDMENTS SHOW SUBSTANCE TO OBJECTIONS

The excellent debate yesterday on the Gore amendment, which would have restored to the bill the language proposed by the President in the realm of foreign policy, indicates beyond a shadow of a doubt the depth and substantiality of the points raised by the opponents of this bill.

There are some who have made light of the number of amendments that have been proposed to the bill. For myself I have submitted on behalf of myself and other colleagues in the Senate 15 amendments.

One is to allow USIA preferential rates for "freedom programs" in repayment of the \$9.5 billion which the Government has already committed to our space effort. This amendment was fully supported by the facts brought out in the testimony of Edward R. Murrow

both before our committee and before the House Space Committee.

I wish to say to the American taxpayers from this floor today, "You are going to pay through the economic nose if this bill is adopted in its present form. You are going to pay commercial rates for most of the programs essential to be sent to the undeveloped areas of the world in this great contest between freedom and communism. You will have to pay a gigantic monopoly monstrosity created by the bill commercial rates in the contest with Russia for freedom in this world."

If this were the only defect of the bill I would never vote for it. I would never want my descendants to read the history of my public life and have them read that I voted to impose that kind of economic injustice upon the taxpayers of the United States.

This is only one of the many reasons why I believe this is a shocking bill and why I think my administration is on the way to being guilty of imposing upon the American people a giveaway program in the bill greater in its economic effect than any giveaway program of the Republican Party in all of its history. That will be a part of the Kennedy administration's record if the bill is adopted by the Senate and becomes the law when signed by the President of the United States.

I wish to say to my Democratic colleagues: "Oh, you talk to me about not pointing out to the people of this country this failure of the Kennedy administration to protect the economic interests of the American people." That falls on deaf ears, because I do not intend to play Democratic partisan politics above the trust I owe to the people of the State of Oregon.

This course of action on the part of the Kennedy administration in regard to the bill is a shameful course of action from the standpoint of public interest and the rights of the American people.

#### AMENDMENTS CANNOT BE ADEQUATELY DISCUSSED

I have some amendments in which I seek to prevent this great mistake of the Kennedy administration. The Senate is allowing me 1 hour to discuss all of my amendments. The same is true of all my colleagues in the Senate who are offering amendments. Each of us will have 1 hour to speak on our amendments. In my case I have a total of 15 amendments, which figures out to be about 4 minutes per amendment.

I propose in my speech to consume a considerable amount of my 1 hour's time to let the record be crystal clear as to where the senior Senator from Oregon stands in relation to this action of the Kennedy administration. I want my leadership to know that I do not support the Kennedy administration in this kind of giveaway of the economic rights and interests of the taxpayers of this country. I believe that the voters in November will make perfectly clear to the Kennedy administration that they do not support this kind of giveaway program, which the administration is seeking to impose upon the American people. The amendments I and my colleagues offered in the Foreign Relations Committee have been supported by competent

international lawyers who testified before that committee. Yet we are not being given time to analyze and present to the Senate the testimony of those great international lawyers. We are not going to have the time to present on the floor of the Senate for the consideration of the American people what the testimony before the Foreign Relations Committee shows.

Therefore some of us—and I speak for the senior Senator from Oregon—have come to the conclusion that the administration did not want us to have the time to make the record in regard to the foreign relations aspect of the bill. In my judgment, when the foreign relations aspect of the bill becomes understood by the American people—and the senior Senator from Oregon is going to do the best he can from coast to coast to make it clear to the American people what is involved in regard to the foreign relations aspects of the bill—I am satisfied what the final judgment of the American people is going to be. It is going to support the position of this so-called little willful band of Senators who have run up this warning signal to the American people that this monstrous giveaway program to an American monopolistic combine must be stopped.

#### BILL SHOULD PROVIDE FOR ROLE OF U.N.

I wish to point out also that my second amendment would restore the original language relating to the United Nations, which the President proposed, in the first place. This was supported by the testimony of two distinguished international lawyers, one of whom was a former adviser to the Department of State, Mr. Cohen. The other was a former Ambassador to the United Nations. Our present Ambassador to the United Nations, now Mr. Stevenson, whom since the end of July I have been trying to get before the Foreign Relations Committee for examination, was also quoted by a witness in support of determining the role of the United Nations regarding satellite communications.

That great witness, Ernest Gross, as the record will show, supported the position of the senior Senator from Oregon for an amendment to the bill which makes perfectly clear that we ought to write into the bill recognition of the United Nations role with respect to the development of a global satellite system.

Let us not forget that when Mr. Stevenson, in behalf of the U.S. Government, offered the famous resolution before the United Nations in December 1961 and persuaded Russia to go along with that resolution, Mr. Stevenson spoke of a global satellite system. He did not speak of an American monopolistic satellite system. He did not speak of an attempt on the part of the United States to set up a monopoly control of an American satellite system from which profit tribute will be collected from the taxpayers of the United States. And also, if it is going to be effective in the undeveloped areas of the world, a profit tribute will be extracted from the peoples of the undeveloped areas of the world themselves.

If anyone thinks that is the way to win the cause of freedom and put this matter

of sending to the underdeveloped areas of the world the great freedom programs that will be necessary for the next quarter century, if we are to beat Russia in her lying and deceitful and misrepresenting propaganda game in the undeveloped areas of the world, then I say most respectfully he could not be more mistaken. If we are to whip Russia now we must have a satellite communication system over which we can transmit "freedom programs" to the undeveloped areas of the world at the least possible cost, the greatest possible quantity.

Yet the Senate of the United States proposes to put a price dollar sign between the United States and the people of the undeveloped areas of the world. I say it is a horrendous mistake which the Senate made a few minutes ago. I shall do my best, so far as I am given the trust of serving in the Senate in the years to come to correct the mistake that was made here this morning.

#### AID TO EDUCATION AMENDMENT

Mr. President, the third of my amendments deals with insuring service to undeveloped lands without extended adversary litigation; a fourth has to do with setting aside a portion of the revenues of the corporation for advancing education, as did the Northwest Ordinance of 1785; and as we tried to do in the Hill "oil for education" amendment of 1953, which was supported by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], and the then Senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Kennedy.

In fact, on the basis of communications that we have received from great educational associations in the United States and from some leading educators in the United States in support of the Morse satellite aid for education amendment, this amendment alone ought to have been the subject of debate and discussion and perfecting, if it needs any perfecting, for at least 3 days in the Senate. Because of the steamroller gag rule tactics which the Senate has imposed upon a group of very sincere Senators, who are seeking to perfect the bill, we are now limited to 1 hour for presentation not only of this amendment but of all amendments.

In my judgment the course of action followed by the Senate today makes it almost certain that future generations of school boys and girls and college men and women were jeopardized by the course of action followed by the imposition of the gag. We all know now that there will not be time enough to discuss the Morse satellite communications aid to education amendment. I know what will happen. The amendments will be brought up, but there will be a quick vote on them, and that will be the end of them.

#### ISSUES SHOULD BE FULLY DISCUSSED

There should be time for us to proceed with a full debate on the amendments. I know it is said that we could not do that and adjourn by September 15. Granted. But no good reason has been



presented on the floor of the Senate by any Senator who favors the bill to justify our not coming back in the week following the election and proceeding to take up the bill.

The senior Senator from Oregon has said from the beginning that he will stand shoulder to shoulder with the leadership of the Senate in arriving at an agreement even to limit the bill to a reasonable debate after the election, and fixing a time certain to vote. The senior Senator from Oregon has been completely consistent in his position. He has said that the bill cannot possibly be considered on its merits, with all the implications and obligations involved in it, and voted upon, and have the emergency pieces of legislation passed before adjournment, unless it is desired to have the Senate remain here through election. That has been my position.

#### CONSEQUENCES OF CLOTURE

This is a sorry day. The Democratic Party, under the Democratic leadership, has made a colossal blunder by way of imposing cloture on the Senate after less than 50 hours of debate. It is impossible for us to put on the fight, to make the explanation, to produce the arguments in support, for example, of the Morse satellite communications for education amendment. The amendments at the desk have been carefully thought out. They have been drafted after consultation with recognized authorities and with the individual offerers of the amendments. We have done our bookwork in opposition to the bill. We are sincerely convinced that the bill needs to be modified in many respects. But the gag which has been imposed upon us by the Senate today makes it impossible for us to protect this great body as the last remaining citadel of untrammelled debate in the world. It means that we cannot protect the interests of the American people in respect to the amendments that are before the Senate.

I say to the American people, take note of what the Senate did today, and take note of who did it to you. Make your day of reckoning clear to them when you have the opportunity to call them to account for the course of action that was followed in the U.S. Senate today.

Mr. President, I shall not discuss the merits of the amendments at this time. Indeed, time will not allow me to do so. Now that cloture has been invoked, the Senate will have perhaps 15 minutes to discuss each pending amendment. Does any Senator believe that the education provision of the Northwest Ordinance was forged in 15 minutes of debate in the Senate of the United States? This will be only one small indication of what has been cast away by the invoking of cloture today.

#### BASIC TRADITION OF GOVERNMENT OF LAWS THREATENED

My third and most important point is that the imposition of cloture threatens us with a direct violation of a tradition that ours is to be a government of laws, and not of men. Under the rules of politics in our democratic society, we do not question, and I make it perfectly clear that I do not question, the integrity or patriotism of anyone involved with this proposed legislation or anyone who

would be involved with the proposed corporation. Our system of government assumes this integrity and patriotism and dedication.

Upon this foundation the Constitution superimposes, in an act of consummate wisdom a system of checks and balances. It does so to keep power decentralized and to assure that the wisdom of many men and institutions with differing experience will be brought to bear upon the conduct of affairs and the creation of legislation.

The invoking of cloture now without full debate casts away the wisdom of the Constitution in this instance and sets a perilous precedent for doing so in the future.

It involves an abdication of the responsibility of the Senate and by each individual Senator—a responsibility that is keenest and most pressing in the realm of foreign affairs, which is profoundly involved in this legislation, and as to which the Constitution confers an explicit duty upon the Senate.

Mr. President, powerful influences are at work at this hour, and the most powerful is the psychology of the majority which may permit a Senator to rationalize to himself a justification for his vote for cloture.

This body until a few minutes ago was one of the last citadels of untrammelled debate in the world. It is a place where each vote is important and consequential and is studied by historians for profundity of analysis and power of intellect and understanding.

I say most respectfully that the constitutional aspects of this legislation cannot be ignored. I say most respectfully that the antidemocratic overtones of this parliamentary situation cannot be ignored.

The cloture action preventing the debate from running its course does a great injustice to the history of the Senate. It has not—as the indisputable facts and figures show, been justified on the merits of the debate thus far.

#### POSITION OF OPPONENTS OF BILL

When the Foreign Relations Committee hearings began, the opponents of the bill made the following statement of position:

We feel also that the fullest possible record should be made; that the facts should be elicited in depth, that these facts should be analyzed and applied to the legislation.

It is our position that there should be legislative safeguards protecting the rights of the President and the Senate in foreign affairs, and of the taxpayers and citizens of the United States in all areas. These protections, we feel, should be explicit and should be as tightly drafted as the accumulated wisdom and independent judgment of the U.S. Senate can make them.

In contrast to this, I was shocked to hear a principal witness for the bill, the Attorney General, state:

But I would think, in the last analysis, in all of these matters, you are going to have to be dependent upon individuals, and if we do not have people of honesty and integrity and people who perform their duties and meet their responsibilities running the Government, either whether they are Senators of the United States or in the executive branch of the Government, that we might as well all dig a little trench and crawl in.

All that the opponents of the bill ask is time to debate the merits of the proposed legislation. Ideally, the issues should be discussed fully in the coming campaign. But, minimally, they must be fully discussed in the Senate.

But I ask and I plead with the Senate to sit in this Chamber and hear debate on this bill. I plead with the Senate to write safeguards into this bill. I plead with the Senate to explore the alternatives.

#### EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF SENATE DEBATE

Mr. President, I have pleaded with the Senate to make this rostrum, as it has been throughout history, one of the great educational seminar classrooms of America. The sad fact is that today, by virtue of the gag rule that was imposed, the American people have been denied the information that a full debate on this measure would have brought out in the days ahead. I say as a Democrat that I think it is one of the worst mistakes my administration could make. It is a precedent that I think we will come to rue for ever having set in the Senate.

#### MORSE AMENDMENT WOULD PROTECT PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Now for a few minutes, because I could not possibly discuss the implication of the pending amendment in less than 3 hours. I wish to say that all the pending amendment would do would be to protect the private enterprise system of America. All the Morse amendment, pending at the desk, would do would be to assure every corporation and business house in the country that wanted to come in on the ground floor and participate in the development of a communications satellite system an equal break, an equal opportunity, with the giant monopoly which will be invested and embedded in the bill, if the language is not changed. Let the Record be clear again that A.T. & T. is a monopoly greater in its extent than United States Steel, General Motors, and Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey combined. That is what we are dealing with in the bill.

I say most respectfully and good naturedly that if any Senator really thinks that A.T. & T. will not dominate the proposed corporation to be created by the Government under the bill, he is naive. And I know of no Member of the Senate who is naive.

A.T. & T. is as certain to dominate the proposed corporation as day is to follow night.

Why do I protect private enterprise, and how do I protect private enterprise in the bill? I extend jurisdiction to NASA. NASA would continue to have jurisdiction over the development of the communications satellite system; and I would authorize NASA, in the bill, to enter into contracts with any private corporation, including Hughes Aircraft Corp., about which I shall say something in a moment; General Electric; General Telephone; RCA; or any other corporation interested in a communications satellite system. My amendment would permit any of the various communication corporations in the country to approach NASA and say, "We would like to come in on the ground floor, on a competitive basis."

## MONOPOLY NOT PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Senators should not forget that the very essence of private enterprise is competition. Monopoly is not private enterprise. Monopoly lacks the essence of private enterprise, which is competition. The Morse amendment which is at the desk guarantees competition and guarantees every corporation interested in a satellite communications system an opportunity to compete with every other corporation which might be interested. But if this amendment is not adopted, the Hughes Aircraft Co. will have to come hat in hand to A.T. & T. I say A.T. & T. because it is synonymous with the corporation set up by this bill. The Hughes Co. will have to make its arrangements, if any, with A.T. & T., if Hughes is to participate in the program. And so will every other corporation.

My amendment guarantees to all competitive corporations in the United States which wish to compete an opportunity to compete in connection with the operation of a satellite communications system. Yet just as recently as today, in a speech on the floor of the Senate, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Young] again stated that the position of those of us on this bill is for Government ownership and operation. I do not know where he has been during the debate, for he has not yet learned that we do not stand for Government ownership and operation on the satellite communications system. We have made clear that we do stand for Government ownership of the satellites and for the operation of the satellites in keeping with the private-enterprise competitive system, under the pending Morse amendment.

Who are for the amendment? Let me point out that one of the great international lawyers of our time, Benjamin Cohen, testified for this amendment, and had the daring and courage and foresight to call a spade a spade about the administrations' bill. He named it for what it is—a cartel. For the administration bill wishes to legalize—for the first time—a cartel in the American economy; and, as Benjamin Cohen pointed out, this will be more than a monopoly: it will be a consortium; a cartel. As I pointed out in the hearings, let the American people remember that before Hitler and Mussolini, cartelism took over in Germany and Italy. Cartelism is the death of free enterprise. Cartelism is irreconcilable with competition. I do not mean to imply that this bill will create any danger of any loss of freedom on the part of the American people; but I do not see why we should ever put our sanction on the system of cartelism that came to rule economically in Germany and Italy.

Ambassador Gross supported, in his testimony, the principle of this amendment. Let Senators read his testimony. If we had had sufficient time for debate, we would have read during the debate the hearings record of the position taken by Benjamin Cohen and Ambassador Gross. I had intended to quote their statements at length, and that should be done. But the gag rule of the Senate denies such a presentation of facts to

the American people from this seminar today.

And Mr. Joseph Rauh, who has represented the U.S. Government in many important legal capacities, and is a recognized student of international law, also pleaded for the adoption of this amendment.

Only yesterday, the executive council of the AFL-CIO—and last night I put its statement in the RECORD—specifically called for an expansion of NASA's jurisdiction, and called for giving to NASA the jurisdiction to own the satellites and to enter into contracts with American corporations and other private enterprise for the development of the satellite communications system.

Let me point out again that President Truman has called this bill for what it is—a giveaway of the people's interest. President Truman never surrendered to monopoly. This Democratic administration has done just that in this bill. As I said, the other day, thank God for Harry Truman.

Let my Democratic colleagues take note in the weeks ahead of the reaction of American public opinion to the shocking give-away features of this monopoly-controlled bill, once they come to understand how it betrays the public interest.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent—because I cannot take time to read them—to have printed at this point in the RECORD pertinent parts of the testimony of Mr. Cohen, Ambassador Gross, Mr. Rauh, and such others as I may see fit to use to supplement my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Massachusetts in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the excerpts from the hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 87th Congress, 2d session, August 3 to 9, 1962, were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY BENJAMIN V. COHEN, WASHINGTON, D.C.

It seemed to me some broadening of NASA's authority to make contracts that would permit their experiments to be carried into the commercial field would be adequate to cover the situation at the present time, and would provide much greater flexibility in meeting various situations.

It would not prejudice the setting up of a more permanent system later if found desirable, and it would seem to me in the long run to be more helpful than the present rigid bill.

I am not trying to weight future operations in favor of public or private enterprise but to allow wide discretion to NASA to meet developing and presently unforeseeable needs.

It seems to me in many ways what I am proposing in the long run would be more satisfactory to the private corporations involved than the present hybrid public-private corporation which cannot really satisfy either the public or private interests involved.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Morse?

Mr. COHEN. I should think so, much more than this cartelized NRA corporation.

Senator MORSE. I have been waiting for that word. I wanted it to come from a witness rather than from me. This really is a proposed American cartel. As far as I know, it is the first time in our history that our Government has proposed an economic cartel in any field. We apparently have forgotten German and Italian history. We apparently

have forgotten that freedom started to be lost in Germany and Italy when cartelism was substituted for economic competition and economic freedom in those countries. We seem to have forgotten that cartelism is always a danger sign, as far as the perpetuation of free political institutions is concerned.

I am so grateful to you for using as a descriptive term in connection with this corporation the term "cartel," for that is what it is. Let us take a look at it.

EXCERPT FROM STATEMENT OF JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., WASHINGTON, D.C.

NEED TO KEEP SPACE COMMUNICATIONS SITUATION FLUID

The more I heard Mr. Cohen say it over and over again about fluidity the more obviously the point came—there is just one thing I do not understand, Mr. Chairman.

How can reasonable men disagree at this time on fluidity in this situation? We might disagree on a lot of things. We may disagree on the ultimately private versus public ownership, whether it should be leased or contracts with a fixed fee and so forth. But I do not see how we can conceivably disagree on the one, simple proposition that at this stage in the history of the world, with this whole thing unknown, that we want to keep it fluid.

Maybe we can argue about something, but I just cannot see how we have an argument about that, Mr. Chairman. And I think, as a matter of fact, that your first question to Mr. Cohen was whether that really was not essentially his point, and I think it was essentially his point. It is essentially mine; if I understand the Democratic, the liberal opposition to that, it is essentially their point: that we just ought not to freeze this thing now and forever.

WISE TO DELAY ACTION ON THE BILL

I suggest to the committee that whether you look at the administration's position from the Democratic platform or you look at it from the principles they have announced on space communication, this bill fails to pass muster, and that the wise thing to do would be for the administration to turn it aside until next year or until maybe after the elections this year, turn it aside and look again next year.

I think that nothing will be lost; that NASA can go ahead. NASA put Telstar up. NASA rockets sent that up. NASA technicians worked with A.T. & T. technicians to do that. There is only one reason it will not work between now and next year. There is only one possible reason and that is because A.T. & T. may not work.

That is the only way that this thing can be held up between now and when this Congress can give this another look next year.

A.T. & T. does not lobby me so I do not know what their position is, but I say if their position is they will not cooperate between now and next year, there should be an investigation of that fact, and the American public should know what they are saying to the Senators.

And if their position is they will cooperate, then I want to know how we lose any time between now and next year by having NASA and A.T. & T. continue the cooperation that has gone before.

If we lose any time through not passing this bill, it would be because of a sitdown strike by A.T. & T.

Now, I am not accusing them of that. I am only saying there are only two ways to have it, and we might as well face up to it.

If they are prepared without this bill to continue cooperating with NASA, we will not lose any time in our space race, which we must win, by not enacting that bill at this session.

If they are not prepared to cooperate without this bill, then I think there ought to be an investigation of A.T. & T., and that fact



ought to be known to the American public: that they are putting their dollars ahead of the fight against communism.

That is what it would be if they are refusing to cooperate without this bill, and so I say let us decide which it is. If it is the former, then we can wait. If it is the latter, let us find out if that really is A.T. & T.'s position.

Today we face one of the most exciting prospects in the history of mankind: the conquest and use of space for the benefit of mankind. NASA experiments like Score, Echo, and Courier gave us a hint of the possibilities; the recent Telstar experiment last month dramatically illustrated some of the possibilities inherent in a usable space communication satellite system. Future NASA experimentation with Relay, the high-orbit synchronous system, and with other experiments, will teach us more and more and bring an operational system closer and closer.

The social, economic, and political implications for space satellite communications are just beginning to come home to us. Murrow pointed to some of these the other day. Others have indicated some of the other implications and possibilities.

These vast implications and ramifications raise very serious foreign policy problems. International cooperation is indispensable to the effective operation of the system, but such cooperation will be as different as it is indispensable. We have already seen some of the difficulties we can expect from the Russians. More can be expected in the future.

H.R. 11040 would start us off on the wrong foot. It would prematurely and unnecessarily freeze the situation which should remain fluid.

Let us turn back and reason further before we take a false step from which we may never recover.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your patience.

#### FCC PROCEDURE AT THE BEGINNING OF TV

If you have studied the history of television development, you would find the situation something like this. I was in the Federal Communications Commission as the Assistant General Counsel and for a while Acting General Counsel in 1940, and television was just starting. CBS would come in and say, "We have got the system." NBC would come in, "We have got the system." So did DuMont. And Macy's started to sell some sets.

And Larry Fly was very frightened, the then Chairman, that this might freeze the situation.

He made a public statement saying that we have not approved any system yet, and oh, he was attacked as a great antibusiness fellow.

Well, he "saved the day," because suppose it had frozen at that terrible state of the art in 1940. Then you came along with a different situation later on. This happened over and over again.

To Larry Fly and Wayne Coy, two people who kept this situation fluid, go the credit for the fact that we have such good television, and by this I am not arguing about the content of the programs.

I am saying that technically reception is magnificent in America. We see things clear; we see baseball games where you can see the ball going over the fence, especially when the Senators are in the field.

And what we have here, Mr. Chairman, is the fact that this is due to two great men who kept the situation fluid when companies wanted to freeze it.

And when I saw the Hughes thing in the paper the day before yesterday, to which Senator Morse referred, I just said, "Well, this is the proof they cannot do that with the bill. They cannot freeze things now. There is something in the offing."

It just reminds me of my whole experience in the television front. We have got so many things in this country because of keeping the situation fluid that I cannot understand why we want to change.

I am an old reactionary. I just want to keep the old principle here of leaving the thing open for the best possible development.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, at this point I shall close my remarks, and shall save whatever few minutes I have left for comments on other amendments.

#### OPPOSITION TO ADMINISTRATION ON THIS BILL

Mr. President, this has not been an easy fight for me. I do not break easily with my administration. But I break with my administration insofar as this issue is concerned. I know that I will stand with my administration on the great majority of the issues still to come before the Senate and before the country during the remainder of President Kennedy's first term and throughout all of his second term as President of the United States. But I owe it to my President not to hesitate, as I see the trust reposed on me as a Member of the Senate, to oppose him when I think he is wrong. And I think he is not only wrong in this case; he is dead wrong. He could not be more wrong than he is in regard to this particular bill, because it is not necessary. No emergency requires it. It could have gone over until after the election. The American people are entitled to have it debated during the election; and the President should have called Congress back immediately after the election—as I said last night on the floor of the Senate—for prompt consideration of a tax reduction program, for I also completely disagree with the President's speech of last night in regard to the tax issue—as I also said last night. The American people, American business, and particularly the people in the low-income brackets—as I said last night—are entitled to tax relief now, rather than to have to wait until next January for it.

#### OBLIGATION TO PEOPLE OF OREGON

But, Mr. President, as I have said, I am not happy about breaking with my administration on the satellite bill and on the tax bill; and I look forward to joining the Kennedy administration on the great majority of issues which it proposes to the Senate. But in keeping with the tenet which I laid down earlier in my speech, I point out that ours is a government of checks and balances, and the people of Oregon did not send me to the Senate to rubberstamp the requests of President Kennedy. They sent me here to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the merits of issues, in accordance with the facts as I find them, testing the facts against the public interest. That is what I have done; and I am satisfied that the facts clearly do not support the Kennedy administration on this bill, just as I am satisfied that the facts clearly do not support President Kennedy on the position he has taken on the tax issue.

Therefore, I propose to carry out the trust I owe the people of my State and to fulfill the obligations I have as a result of the oath which I took when I came to the Senate.

Mr. President, I am about to yield the floor. Not enough Senators are present at this time. I shall take 30 seconds to comment on that point.

The RECORD of last night speaks for itself. It is interesting to note that last night I was unable to obtain an agreement for a yea-and-nay vote on the question of agreeing to my amendment; and I indicated then that I would like to have an answer to the question, Why? Why did not Senators last night want to stand up and permit themselves to be recorded on the question of agreeing to the Morse amendment?

#### ASKS ROLLCALL VOTE ON MORSE AMENDMENT

Mr. President, at this time, I shall not ask for the ordering of the yeas and nays, because only a few Senators are in the Chamber at this moment. But if I have a second or two left before the amendment comes to a vote, I shall once again request the ordering of the yeas and nays, because I think the Members of the Senate should be willing to extend to me, as the proponent of this amendment, the same courtesy the Senate was willing to extend yesterday to the proponents of two amendments voted on then. Furthermore, I think the American people are entitled to a yea-and-nay vote on the question of agreeing to this amendment, because that will put Members of the Senate on record as to whether they want to support private enterprise in the operation of a satellite communications system under the American flag, with American-flag satellites up in space, or whether they want to support a monopolistic control of a communications satellite system.

#### CLOTURE AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 2 minutes.

Liberals on civil rights voted on both sides of the cloture motion, and no one has greater respect for those who voted differently from myself than I; but I think it is just as important to spread the views of those who feel as I do upon the record as to spread other arguments upon this subject, and I shall do so briefly. In the first place we who are for civil rights have always pleaded for Members to call such votes as they see them on the merits—not to vote against cloture because of a doctrinaire objection to cloture as such. This vote certainly explodes the myth of precedent in respect to cloture.

Now, for 35 years no cloture was voted in this Chamber. During all that time civil rights legislation efforts were frustrated. We are trying hard to amend the rule, but we have tried a number of times at the opening of new Congresses in that 35 years without success. Now I think the time came to tear away the mask from what is going on in this Chamber, and face it for all to see.

I would like to state the following facts briefly. We lost on a cloture vote on the last civil rights legislation—the literacy test bill—on May 14, 1962; that vote lost by 42 to 52. We did not carry even a majority. Twenty-five Members of the Senate who voted against us on

that cloture motion on May 14, 1962, voted for cloture today, and only 8 Members of the Senate who voted for cloture then voted the other way today—for reasons which I respect and which are sufficiently theirs.

Let the country take note that when the Senate wants to vote cloture, it votes cloture, and that a substantive vote on every civil rights measure is a vote for cloture. If we need to reduce the requirements in order to let a majority express its will, then I think we are in much better shape to do that now, because it is just as wrong to defy a majority of the Senate interminably as it is to defy two-thirds interminably—the issue decided today. The point of cloture is to ascertain when the exposition of a viewpoint has stopped and when efforts to block action have begun so that a vote may not be taken. But on civil rights there is no such rule and the cloture vote should prove that there should and can be the same standard for civil rights legislation as for this measure.

I think, for myself, the vote today may well measurably advance the possibility of getting civil rights legislation through this body, because it will expose the power which inheres in the Senate when it wishes to exercise it. There was not a chance like this for 35 years. As in my view the point to which the debate had come, warranted it, I think it was high time we took the opportunity when we did.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield myself 1 additional minute on another subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

#### A REPLY TO THE PRESIDENT'S BROADCAST ON THE NATION'S ECONOMY

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the President's televised talk on the Nation's economy last evening settles the question of an incentive—or as the President put it—"a creative tax cut" for this session. It is clear that, without administration support, it cannot be enacted.

I wish to enter a personal dissent inasmuch as I am convinced that an incentive tax cut could and should be designed now to serve precisely the purposes the President outlines for his tax cut to be proposed in the next session.

The period of agonizing indecision which preceded the President's speech as to what he would do about a tax cut is now apparently to be succeeded by a period of doubt for the country as to whether it will slip into a recession. The cliff hanging on the subject continues because the President says he will call back the Congress into session in order to vote a tax cut if he feels the economy is weakening.

It seems to me that these risks are not only inadvisable but unnecessary.

I believe the key to the President's decision is found in the phrase "a cut which could not now be either justified or enacted," with emphasis on the word, "enacted." I believe this is very important for the country to understand: It is clear that the President does not

feel that action for an incentive or creative tax cut can be carried, though the President's party is in full control of both Houses of the Congress. The President and his party must therefore assume full responsibility for the decision.

There is in my view a "clear and present danger" of a recession notwithstanding the President's calming words. Most of the so-called leading indicators are pointing down: orders for durable goods, especially new machinery and equipment, the factory workweek, and new job placements are all pointing downward. New claims for unemployment insurance are rising. In spite of the testimonials to the New Frontier, read by the President, this does not bode well for the short-term future—yet we must do all we can, even though the most promising action, an incentive tax cut, is foreclosed, apparently for now.

Although I disagree thoroughly with the tax cut decision, yet it is our duty in Congress to go forward, as the President has said, with other measures which he apparently believes can be enacted and which may also be of some help in respect of heading off a possible recession. I find myself in general agreement with the measures outlined by the President but believe that they do not represent a nearly adequate program for the President or the Congress to help avoid a recession, in the absence of an incentive or creative tax cut.

I point out some actions which can be very helpful, which the President himself can take without any aid from Congress.

For example, the President can establish policy for the executive and regulatory agencies which will encourage economic growth and business confidence. He can call for an antitrust law administration directed toward the same end. He can review defense procurement policies as they relate to set-asides for small business and labor surplus areas and competitive bidding on negotiated contracts. He can move more vigorously into the area of eliminating discrimination in jobs with Government contractors. And he can signal a new era in Federal action for civil rights by an Executive—stroke of the pen—order eliminating segregation in housing and in all federally aided housing programs. He can also make progress by bringing the private economic system into more effective activity in the foreign aid program where such activity would be of immense benefit.

Also, the President can call on Congress to improve the statutory base for depreciation allowances on new equipment, thereby giving business confidence that the present policy will continue. He can call for legislation to deal more effectively with strikes which bring about economic paralysis or endanger public health, safety, or the national interest. Through his Labor-Management Advisory Committee, the President can move against any vestiges of bias and discrimination in apprenticeship programs, trade union membership, or private job and training opportunities. Also through this committee the President can give leadership to the means for

lessening the impact of automation and other technical change on workers.

In short, while I believe we have taken an undue risk in the President's decision not to seek an incentive or creative tax cut now, but to defer it until 1963—and the responsibility must be that of the President and the majority party—there is much that can and should be done, not only by the Congress but also by the President in these critical months, when the economy will decide whether to slide down or to move forward. And I urge the President to give action to the spirit in which he spoke by moving on all these fronts.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I wish to reply briefly to what the Senator from New York has said. He has raised the issue of a tax cut as being the responsibility of the President and Democrats in the Congress. Of course, the President has a responsibility, and all Members of Congress also have a responsibility. I do not think the Senator would like to have the record stand that only Democratic Members of the House and the Senate have that responsibility. Every Member of the Senate and of the House casts his own vote. When a Republican casts a vote, he does so with the same responsibility as a Democrat does when he casts a vote.

I am quite sure that if the President had assurance that a majority of Republicans of the House and Senate would have supported a tax cut at this time, he could certainly have obtained a vote of a majority of the Democrats of both the Senate and the House.

I do not think the cause of democracy is well served by repeated statements which are being made by Members of the Republican Party today, and the leaders in the party, that it is the responsibility of the President and of the Democrats in the Congress. Every Member of Congress, whether Republican or Democrat, is answerable for his votes.

#### COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11040) to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system, and for other purposes.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I make the point that a quorum is not present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing—

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I make the point that a quorum is not present. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It will have to come out of the Senator's time.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. I understand that is not so if we proceed to a vote; that the Senator is entitled to a quorum as a matter of right, and that the call for a quorum does not come out of his time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senate is ready to vote, that is correct.



Mr. McCARTHY. I wanted to make certain there was a quorum call before the vote.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. KUCHEL. Will the Chair state for the record the situation with reference to the suggestion by a Member of the Senate of the absence of a quorum? Under what conditions would it come out of his time? Under what conditions would it not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the debate is not concluded prior to the calling of the quorum, it will be taken out of that Senator's time. The only time that a quorum can be called without it coming out of his time is just preceding the vote.

Mr. KUCHEL. How is one to determine when a debate has been concluded? Take the present situation. The Senator from Oregon has laid down his amendment and has completed his speech in favor of it. If there is no other Senator ready to discuss it pro or con, and the absence of a quorum is suggested, then am I to understand the Chair would conclude that debate on that amendment had been completed?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is the practice that is followed.

Mr. KUCHEL. And after a quorum had responded and another Senator then spoke on the amendment, the Chair would take the time for the quorum out of the time of the Senator who had suggested its absence?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McCARTHY. I understood there was a call for a vote before I suggested the absence of a quorum. If there was no request for a vote, I withdraw my suggestion of the absence of a quorum.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold his request for a minute?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time necessary for further quorum calls not be charged to the time of any Senator, since we have no particular rule to guide us on this matter.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is there an amendment before the Senate now?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending amendment is the amendment offered by the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, is that the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It is the pending question.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Is the Senate prepared to vote on it?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to table the amendment offered by the Senator from Oregon.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table, made by the Senator from Montana.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Presiding Officer state the question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to lay on the table the amendment offered by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. If present and voting, the Senator from Nevada would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Maryland [Mr. BUTLER], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON] are detained on official business, and, if present and voting, would each vote "yea."

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent, and if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 74, nays 15, as follows:

[No. 163 Leg.]

YEAS—74

Aiken  
Allott

Beall  
Bennett

Boggs  
Bottum

Bush  
Byrd, W. Va.  
Cannon  
Carlson  
Case  
Church  
Cooper  
Curtis  
Dirksen  
Dodd  
Eastland  
Ellender  
Engle  
Ervin  
Fong  
Goldwater  
Hart  
Hartke  
Hickenlooper  
Hickey  
Hill  
Holland  
Hruska

Humphrey  
Jackson  
Javits  
Johnston  
Jordan, N.C.  
Jordan, Idaho  
Keating  
Kerr  
Kuchel  
Lausche  
Long, Mo.  
Magnuson  
Mansfield  
McCarthy  
McGee  
Metcalf  
Miller  
Monroney  
Morton  
Mundt  
Murphy  
Muskie  
Pastore

Pearson  
Pell  
Prouty  
Proxmire  
Randolph  
Robertson  
Russell  
Saltonstall  
Scott  
Smathers  
Smith, Mass.  
Smith, Maine  
Sparkman  
Stennis  
Symington  
Talmadge  
Thurmond  
Tower  
Wiley  
Williams, N.J.  
Williams, Del.  
Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—15

Bartlett  
Burdick  
Carroll  
Clark  
Douglas

Gore  
Gruening  
Kefauver  
Long, Hawaii  
Long, La.  
McNamara  
Morse  
Neuberger  
Yarborough  
Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—11

Anderson  
Bible  
Butler  
Byrd, Va.

Capehart  
Chavez  
Cotton  
Fulbright

Hayden  
McClellan  
Moss

So Mr. MANSFIELD's motion to table Mr. MORSE's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the motion to table was agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I call up my amendment "8-11-62-DDDD" and ask that it be stated.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment of the Senator from Louisiana will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 34, line 12, it is proposed to insert the following before the period: "and no such communications common carrier shall at any time own more than 10 per centum of such shares issued and outstanding".

On page 36, between lines 3 and 4, it is proposed to insert the following:

"(g) The limitations applicable to voting stock in the above sections shall also be applicable to all other securities of the corporation."

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, we have been told by some of the sponsors of the bill that it is not a bill to make it possible for the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., to have control of the proposed space satellite corporation. It is possible that that company could control the corporation even though it owned only 10 percent of the voting stock. But it is also possible that some of the other major corporations may have an opportunity to have an equal voice in the operation. We are told by many that it is anticipated that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. would have 40 percent—perhaps 50 percent—of the stock in the company, and in the future it would be possible for them to have even more than that, because there would be no limitation on how much their stockholders could own.

This amendment seeks at least to some degree to carry out the antitrust

philosophy of our laws, by preventing the company from completely owning and dominating this undertaking, by providing that no more than 10 percent of the stock or more than one-fifth of the stock reserved for corporations shall be held by anyone.

The amendment is simple enough and easy enough to understand. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there a sufficient second?

Mr. PASTORE. Is it in order to make a motion to table?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, is there a sufficient second?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to table the amendment.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 164 Leg.]

Alken	Gruening	Morse
Allott	Hart	Morton
Bartlett	Hartke	Mundt
Beall	Hickenlooper	Murphy
Bennett	Hickey	Bussie
Boggs	Hill	Neuberger
Bottum	Holland	Pastore
Burdick	Hruska	Pearson
Bush	Humphrey	Pell
Butler	Jackson	Prouty
Byrd, W. Va.	Javits	Proxmire
Cannon	Johnston	Randolph
Carroll	Jordan, N.C.	Robertson
Case	Jordan, Idaho	Russell
Chavez	Keating	Saltonstall
Church	Kefauver	Scott
Clark	Kerr	Smathers
Cooper	Kuchel	Smith, Mass.
Cotton	Lausche	Smith, Maine
Curtis	Long, Mo.	Sparkman
Dirksen	Long, Hawaii	Stennis
Dodd	Long, La.	Talmadge
Douglas	Magnuson	Thurmond
Eastland	Mansfield	Tower
Ellender	McCarthy	Wiley
Engle	McClellan	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	McGee	Williams, Del.
Fong	McNamara	Yarborough
Goldwater	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Monroney	Young, Ohio

The VICE PRESIDENT. A quorum is present.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, on the motion to lay on the table, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there a sufficient second?

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, how many seconds of the request for the yeas and nays did the Chair count?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair counted 15. The Chair will ask all Senators who favor a yea-and-nay vote on the motion to table to raise their hands.

There is a sufficient second. The yeas and nays are ordered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Rhode Island will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. Is the vote about to be taken a vote on the motion to table?

The VICE PRESIDENT. It is a vote on the motion to table. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] is paired with the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Utah would vote "nay" and the Senator from Missouri would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Montana [Mr. METCALF] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] is detained on official committee business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. CARLSON] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 63, nays 27, as follows:

[No. 165 Leg.]

YEAS—63

Alken	Goldwater	Miller
Allott	Hartke	Monroney
Beall	Hickenlooper	Morton
Bennett	Hickey	Mundt
Boggs	Holland	Murphy
Bottum	Hruska	Pastore
Bush	Humphrey	Pearson
Butler	Jackson	Pell
Byrd, W. Va.	Johnston	Prouty
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Randolph
Case	Jordan, Idaho	Robertson
Chavez	Keating	Saltonstall
Cooper	Kerr	Scott
Cotton	Kuchel	Smathers
Curtis	Lausche	Smith, Maine
Dirksen	Long, Mo.	Thurmond
Dodd	Magnuson	Tower
Ellender	Mansfield	Wiley
Engle	McCarthy	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	McClellan	Williams, Del.
Fong	McGee	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—27

Bartlett	Hart	Neuberger
Burdick	Hill	Proxmire
Carroll	Javits	Russell
Church	Kefauver	Smith, Mass.
Clark	Long, Hawaii	Sparkman
Douglas	Long, La.	Stennis
Eastland	McNamara	Talmadge
Gore	Morse	Yarborough
Gruening	Muskie	Young, Ohio

NOT VOTING—10

Anderson	Carlson	Moss
Bible	Fulbright	Symington
Byrd, Va.	Hayden	
Capehart	Metcalf	

So Mr. PASTORE's motion to lay on the table the amendment of Mr. LONG of Louisiana was agreed to.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the amendment was laid on the table be reconsidered.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to lay on the table the motion to reconsider.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider. [Putting the question.]

The "ayes" appear to have it; and the "ayes" have it, and the motion to reconsider is laid on the table.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I send to the desk the amendment identified as "8-13-62—AAAA." It is an amendment to be proposed by the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING]; but I have the same amendment here, and ask that it be reported.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be reported.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 33, in line 6, it is proposed to strike out "initially offered" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "initially or subsequently offered".

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, on the question of agreeing to this amendment, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there a sufficient second?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, this is a very important amendment, and I hope Senators will listen to my explanation of it for just a few minutes.

The administration's witnesses have said that the only way the public will have an opportunity to get back any of the taxpayers' investment in this satellite communications system is by purchasing stock in the corporation. In his message to Congress, the President specifically set forth that in that way there might at least be partial compensation to the taxpayers for the millions of dollars they have spent on research and development in connection with communications satellites, to say nothing of the billions of dollars which have been spent on research on rockets and missiles and to put them into orbit. In no other way, not even by means of preferential rates to the Government, would there be an opportunity for the individual taxpayers to get back any reward from this corporation.

Of course, the very idea that some of the stock would be purchased by every taxpayer of the United States is ridiculous, but this is the basis on which some justification is claimed for the giveaway—namely, that people can buy shares of the stock. The President has stressed the point that people can buy the shares of stock, and thus can get back some of their money; and the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, testified at the hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce:

We feel very strongly that Americans generally should be permitted to participate in this corporation. It has been American money, American know-how, American taxpayers' money, that has made this possible; and I think everybody should be permitted to participate.

But, Mr. President, here is a "sleeper" in the bill; and I called it to the attention of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] when I testified before his committee. I ask Senators to look at line 6, on page 33; there they will find that only the shares which the corporation decided to offer initially to the pub-



lic would be available to the American people; that would be their only chance to purchase any part of the stock. Once the corporation was formed, it could authorize the issuance, initially, of only \$1,000 worth of stock, and only \$500 of it would be available to the public. Then, at the next go-around, the corporation could offer any number of shares it wished, but they would not be available to the public, and the public would not then have an opportunity to participate.

I read now the language on page 33 of the bill, beginning in line 5:

The shares of such stock initially offered shall be sold at a price not in excess of \$100 for each share and in a manner to encourage the widest distribution to the American public.

All that is well and good; but do Senators think that if the corporation became very profitable, it would wish to have the subsequent shares purchased by the public? This was not done by accident. It is the idea of the monopoly corporation not to make the shares subsequently to be issued available to the public. It may issue 1 million shares of stock, 500,000 shares of which would be available to the public; but as to any subsequent issue of bonds, debentures, or preferred stock, it would have the exclusive right of buying them for itself, without offering the public one share whatsoever. It could raise the price above \$100 so it would not meet this description.

I think, small as this little piece of cheese is that is thrown out to the American people, the American people ought to have the right, at least, to buy not only some part of the initial issue, but a part of the subsequent issue of stock of the corporation. That is what the President asked for. That is what the Attorney General testified for. That is what all the witnesses contended for.

The general impression I get from reading the newspapers is that half of the stock is to be offered to the American public. That is not true at all. Only half of the stock that is issued initially will be offered to the American public, and that may be only one-tenth or one-hundredth of the total amount to be issued.

I am ready for a vote on my amendment.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PASTORE. This proposal has to do with the price of the stock. It is to be \$100 initially. If the stock goes down, the FCC is authorized to issue new stock, by application, at a lesser price. If it goes up, it can issue stock at a higher price. If the price is pegged, it would do nothing else than stymie it. This is the American free enterprise system.

I move to table the amendment.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, does not the Senator want me to answer him on my own time?

The VICE PRESIDENT. The motion has been made.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Then I suggest the absence of a quorum, if the Senator will not let me answer his argument.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 166 Leg.]

Alken	Hart	Morton
Allott	Hartke	Mundt
Bartlett	Hickenlooper	Murphy
Beall	Hickey	Muskie
Bennett	Hill	Neuberger
Boggs	Holland	Pastore
Bottum	Hruska	Pearson
Burdick	Humphrey	Pell
Bush	Jackson	Prouty
Butler	Javits	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Johnston	Randolph
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Robertson
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Russell
Carroll	Keating	Saltonstall
Case	Kefauver	Scott
Chavez	Kerr	Smathers
Church	Kuchel	Smith, Mass.
Clark	Lausche	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Sparkman
Curtis	Long, Hawaii	Stennis
Dirksen	Long, La.	Symington
Dodd	Magnuson	Talmadge
Douglas	Mansfield	Thurmond
Eastland	McCarthy	Tower
Ellender	McClellan	Wiley
Engle	McGee	Williams, N.J.
Ervin	McNamara	Williams, Del.
Fong	Metcalf	Yarborough
Goldwater	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Gore	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Gruening	Morse	

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PELL in the chair). A quorum is present.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. PASTORE. Is the question on the motion to table?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion by the Senator from Rhode Island to table the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. GRUENING. Would the amendment permit the American public to buy stock?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table.

Mr. GRUENING. I was asking to what amendment the motion to table would apply. May we have the amendment read?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment which the Senate is debating the question of tabling is the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. GRUENING. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment may be read, so that we may know what it is sought to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alaska?

Mr. PASTORE. I object.

Mr. GRUENING. It is only four lines.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island to table the amendment offered by the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. GRUENING. We should like to know what we are voting on.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All in favor of the motion say "yea."

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, the yeas and nays have been ordered. The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair understands that the yeas and nays were not ordered on the motion to table.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It has just been announced that a quorum is present, and no business has been transacted. The question is on agreeing to the motion by the Senator from Rhode Island to table the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. KEFAUVER. There has been a parliamentary inquiry made after the motion to table and the suggestion of the absence of a quorum, and there has been the request for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A parliamentary inquiry does not constitute the transaction of business.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is: Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I now ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President—

Mr. MORSE. I ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is: Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate? The yeas and nays have been requested.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President—

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I now ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is: Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the Senate? (Putting the question.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The "ayes" appear to have it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 167 Leg.]

Alken	Byrd, W. Va.	Curtis
Allott	Cannon	Dirksen
Bartlett	Carlson	Dodd
Beall	Carroll	Douglas
Bennett	Case	Eastland
Boggs	Chavez	Engle
Bottum	Church	Ervin
Burdick	Clark	Fong
Bush	Cooper	Goldwater
Butler	Cotton	Gore

Gruening	Long, La.	Randolph
Hart	Magnuson	Robertson
Hartke	Mansfield	Russell
Hickenlooper	McCarthy	Saltonstall
Hickey	McClellan	Scott
Hill	McGee	Smathers
Holland	McNamara	Smith, Mass.
Hruska	Metcalf	Smith, Maine
Humphrey	Miller	Sparkman
Jackson	Monroney	Stennis
Javits	Morse	Symington
Johnston	Morton	Talmadge
Jordan, N.C.	Mundt	Thurmond
Jordan, Idaho	Murphy	Tower
Keating	Muskie	Wiley
Kefauver	Neuberger	Williams, N.J.
Kerr	Pastore	Williams, Del.
Kuchel	Pearson	Yarborough
Lausche	Pell	Young, N. Dak.
Long, Mo.	Proxmire	Young, Ohio
Long, Hawaii		

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. What is the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE] to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER].

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on this question I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Tennessee. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. LONG], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. If present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. LONG] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] is detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 73, nays 17, as follows:

[No. 168 Leg.]

YEAS—73

Aiken	Hill	Pastore
Allott	Holland	Pearson
Beall	Hruska	Pell
Bennett	Humphrey	Proxmire
Boggs	Jackson	Robertson
Bottum	Javits	Randolph
Bush	Johnston	Robertson
Butler	Jordan, N.C.	Russell
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, Idaho	Saltonstall
Cannon	Keating	Scott
Carlson	Kerr	Smathers
Case	Kuchel	Smith, Maine
Chavez	Lausche	Sparkman
Cotton	Long, Mo.	Stennis
Curtis	Magnuson	Symington
Dirksen	Mansfield	Talmadge
Dodd	McCarthy	Thurmond
Eastland	McClellan	Tower
Engle	McGee	Wiley
Ervin	Metcalf	Williams, N.J.
Fong	Miller	Williams, Del.
Goldwater	Monroney	Young, N. Dak.
Hartke	Morton	Young, Ohio
Hickenlooper	Mundt	
Hickey	Murphy	

NAYS—17

Bartlett	Gore	Morse
Burdick	Gruening	Muskie
Carroll	Hart	Neuberger
Church	Kefauver	Smith, Mass.
Clark	Long, La.	Yarborough
Douglas	McNamara	

NOT VOTING—10

Anderson	Cooper	Long, Hawaii
Bible	Ellender	Moss
Byrd, Va.	Fulbright	
Capehart	Hayden	

So Mr. PASTORE's motion to lay on the table Mr. KEFAUVER's amendment was agreed to.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President—

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I move to lay that motion on the table.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the motion to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island. The motion to lay on the table is agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I have asked for the yeas and nays.

Mr. MORSE. The yeas and nays were called for before the Chair announced the result of the vote on the motion to lay on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. On what question were the yeas and nays requested?

Mr. MORSE. On whether the motion to reconsider the vote should be laid on the table.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I was asking for the yeas and nays on the motion to lay on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is sorry; he did not realize that.

Mr. KERR. The request for the yeas and nays was not made until after the vote on the tabling motion had been announced.

Mr. MORSE. The Senator from Louisiana was on his feet calling for the yeas and nays.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, I withdraw my motion.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair now understands that the Senator from Oklahoma withdraws his motion. Therefore, the bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. MORSE. Has the Chair recognized the withdrawal of the motion to reconsider by the Senator from Oklahoma.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma has withdrawn his motion. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute. Those of us who are opposed to the bill regretted the action taken by the Senate in imposing cloture. However, the action has been taken. We sincerely feel that the bill has many defects even if we adopt the philosophy of the bill. Many of us feel that many amendments are needed to correct the inequities in the bill and to improve the bill in several ways. Therefore we will offer amendments to the bill. The amendments that we have offered and the amendments that will be offered—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. KEFAUVER. I yield myself 1 more minute.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. KEFAUVER. The amendments that have been offered and those that will be offered are sincerely for that purpose. The amendments that have been offered and will be offered are not offered merely for the purpose of being time consuming and holding up the Senate. Many of these amendments have been thoroughly studied and have been recommended in some cases by witnesses for the administration. They are well reasoned. The Senate should know that they are offered in good conscience, not for the purpose of delay, but for the purpose of perfecting a bad bill and make it at least a little fairer to the public. That is the basis on which we will offer our amendments.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I call up my amendment identified as "8-13-62-UUUU," and I ask that the amendment be read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be read.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 25, line 20, insert the following before the semicolon: "and for the determination of the most constructive role for the United Nations;"

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I will talk on my amendment for a minute or two. This is the language which the administration had recommended in the first instance. This language was in the administration bill. It recognizes the role that the United Nations must play in this whole connection of international rights in space. The interesting thing is that in the bill before the Senate all reference to the United Nations is stricken out. We think that is a most serious mistake, testified to by the international lawyers we had before us, Mr. Gross and Mr. Cohen.



I understand that it is not the insistence of the administration that there be no reference to the United Nations in the bill.

In closing I wish to say that it would be most unfortunate if we did not return to the language of the bill the reference to the role of the United Nations. If we leave it out we will be misunderstood around the world. Let us not forget that when Mr. Stevenson offered the U.S. resolution in the United Nations in respect to the so-called commendatory resolution, agreed to by the United States and Russia, he talked about a global satellite system, and he talked about the role of the United Nations in respect of international rights of all nations in space. Here is a chance for Senators to demonstrate whether or not they want to stand up and be counted in support of an amendment which recognizes the role of the United Nations in space.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I will take some of my own time to discuss the amendment being offered by the senior Senator from Oregon. I shall be very brief.

Obviously, the Senate is not in a mood to consider these amendments fully on their merit at this point; at least, that is the impression I have gained. The language in the Morse amendment was offered by the administration. It is the opinion of those who represent this Nation in the United Nations that this language should be contained in the bill. Without this language in the bill, it fails to recognize that this is an international problem which cannot be settled alone by any nation. Our Acting Ambassador to the United Nations testified before the Foreign Relations Committee that there is a real question as to the legal rights of any nation in space.

It was agreed that during the International Geophysical Year any nation could put a so-called satellite in orbit; but there is even a real legal question as to whether any nation can properly possess any satellite in orbit around the planet, because it could well fall within the definition of a celestial body, which is free to be explored and used by any nation.

In my judgment, the case made for the amendment before the Committee on Foreign Relations was a most compelling one, and the amendment should have been agreed to. Unfortunately, the Committee on Foreign Relations did not agree to any amendments. I believe this is one amendment which should be agreed to.

There is a serious question whether a nation has the right to park a satellite over the property of another nation, or even be in a position to spy on another nation at all times of day and night over what could be claimed as that nation's air space.

These are international problems which must be negotiated, and the role of the United Nations is most important in that connection. Actually, many of the arrangements and understandings leading up to our place in space and the Russians' place in space were the sub-

ject of debate within the United Nations, and that should continue to be the situation.

I hope the amendment will be agreed to.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I invite Senators to read the record of the hearings at page 351. There they will find the precise answer to the questions raised by the amendment.

Mr. President, I move to table the amendment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on that motion, I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. If present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

On this vote the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] is paired with the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN]. If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee would vote "nay," and the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. HART] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent, and if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 72, nays 18, as follows:

[No. 169 Leg.]

YEAS—72

Alken	Dirksen	Jordan, N.C.
Allott	Dodd	Jordan, Idaho
Beall	Eastland	Keating
Bennett	Engle	Kerr
Boggs	Ervin	Kuchel
Bottum	Fong	Long, Mo.
Bush	Goldwater	Magnuson
Butler	Hartke	Mansfield
Byrd, W. Va.	Hickenlooper	McCarthy
Cannon	Hickey	McClellan
Carlson	Hill	McGee
Case	Holland	Metcalf
Chavez	Hruska	Miller
Cooper	Humphrey	Monroney
Cotton	Jackson	Morton
Curtis	Johnston	Mundt

Murphy  
Pastore  
Pearson  
Pell  
Prouty  
Proxmire  
Robertson  
Russell

Saltonstall  
Scott  
Smathers  
Smith, Mass.  
Smith, Maine  
Sparkman  
Stennis  
Symington

Talmadge  
Thurmond  
Tower  
Wiley  
Williams, N.J.  
Williams, Del.  
Young, N. Dak.  
Young, Ohio

NAYS—18

Bartlett  
Burdick  
Carroll  
Church  
Clark  
Douglas

Gore  
Gruening  
Javits  
Lausche  
Long, Hawaii  
Long, La.

McNamara  
Morse  
Muskie  
Neuberger  
Randolph  
Yarborough

NOT VOTING—10

Anderson  
Bible  
Byrd, Va.  
Capehart

Ellender  
Fulbright  
Hart

Hayden  
Kefauver  
Moss

So Mr. PASTORE's motion to lay Mr. MORSE's amendment on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I call up my amendment identified as "SSSS," and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 25, in line 13, it is proposed to strike out "or with" and insert in lieu thereof the following: "and with the United Nations and other".

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, my remarks on the amendment will be brief. I shall not ask for a yea-and-nay vote on the question of agreeing to the amendment, because it is the second amendment which involves the United Nations language of the bill.

The administration's original bill referred to the United Nations at this point in the bill, also; but I wish to have both amendments acted on. So, Mr. President, I submit the amendment.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, if there is no further debate on the amendment, I respectfully move that the amendment be laid on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to lay the amendment on the table. [Putting the question.]

The ayes appear to have it; the ayes have it, and the motion to lay the amendment on the table is agreed to.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I call up my amendment identified as "8-13-62—FFFF," and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 27, in line 6, after the period, it is proposed to insert:

"All inventions and other technology furnished by the Administration to the corporation shall be in the form of a nonexclusive license for which the corporation shall pay a reasonable royalty. Any inventions developed by the corporation from the inventions and technology furnished by the Administration shall be made available to the United States or to any designee of the United States in the form of a nonexclusive royalty-free license."

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I do not see how anyone can seriously object to this amendment. It simply provides that inventions furnished to the corporation by the United States shall not become the exclusive prerogative of the corporation, but that it shall pay a reasonable royalty for them, and that the

results of the inventions supplied by the United States shall be available to others on the same basis. The amendment is designed to prevent a further giveaway inside of what some of us regard as a major giveaway.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Alaska yield?

Mr. GRUENING. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is not this provision substantially similar to language included in the 1954 Atomic Energy Act, as a result of the long fight on the floor of the Senate by the liberal bloc?

Mr. GRUENING. Precisely.

I wonder whether the Senator from Rhode Island will consider permitting this amendment to come to a vote, instead of moving that it be laid on the table, because the amendment does not conflict with the provisions of the bill; it merely provides a safeguard for the public.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, with a heavy heart, I must decline the request; and I move that the amendment be laid on the table.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on this question, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Rhode Island to lay on the table the amendment of the Senator from Alaska. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from Missouri [Mr. SYMINGTON] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS]. If present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. KEFAUVER] is paired with the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON]. If present and voting, the Senator from Tennessee would vote "nay," and the Senator from Virginia would vote "yea."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BUSH], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], and the Senator from Ver-

mont [Mr. PROUTY] are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BUSH], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. PEARSON], and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY] would each vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 66, nays 20, as follows:

[No. 170 Leg.]

YEAS—66

Alken	Hartke	Monroney
Allott	Hickenlooper	Morton
Beall	Hickey	Mundt
Bennett	Hill	Murphy
Boggs	Holland	Pastore
Bottum	Hruska	Pell
Butler	Humphrey	Proxmire
Byrd, W. Va.	Jackson	Russell
Cannon	Johnston	Saltonstall
Carlson	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Case	Jordan, Idaho	Smathers
Chavez	Keating	Smith, Mass.
Cooper	Kerr	Smith, Maine
Cotton	Kuchel	Sparkman
Curtis	Lausche	Stennis
Dirksen	Long, Mo.	Talmadge
Dodd	Magnuson	Thurmond
Eastland	Mansfield	Tower
Engle	McCarthy	Wiley
Ervin	McClellan	Williams, N.J.
Fong	McGee	Williams, Del.
Goldwater	Metcalf	Young, N. Dak.

NAYS—20

Bartlett	Gruening	Morse
Burdick	Hart	Muskie
Carroll	Javits	Neuberger
Church	Long, Hawaii	Randolph
Clark	Long, La.	Yarborough
Douglas	McNamara	Young, Ohio
Gore	Miller	

NOT VOTING—14

Anderson	Ellender	Pearson
Bible	Fulbright	Proutty
Bush	Hayden	Robertson
Byrd, Va.	Kefauver	Symington
Capehart	Moss	

So the motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I make a point of order that no quorum is present.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

[No. 171 Leg.]

Alken	Hart	Mundt
Allott	Hartke	Murphy
Bartlett	Hickenlooper	Muskie
Beall	Hickey	Neuberger
Bennett	Hill	Pastore
Boggs	Holland	Pearson
Bottum	Hruska	Pell
Burdick	Humphrey	Proutty
Bush	Jackson	Proxmire
Butler	Javits	Randolph
Byrd, W. Va.	Johnston	Robertson
Cannon	Jordan, N.C.	Russell
Carlson	Jordan, Idaho	Saltonstall
Carroll	Keating	Scott
Case	Kerr	Smathers
Chavez	Kuchel	Smith, Mass.
Church	Lausche	Smith, Maine
Clark	Long, Mo.	Sparkman
Cooper	Long, Hawaii	Stennis
Cotton	Long, La.	Symington
Curtis	Magnuson	Talmadge
Dirksen	Mansfield	Thurmond
Dodd	McCarthy	Tower
Douglas	McClellan	Wiley
Eastland	McGee	Williams, N.J.
Engle	McNamara	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Metcalf	Yarborough
Fong	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Goldwater	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Gore	Morse	
Gruening	Morton	

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is a quorum present? The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is considering.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Will the Chair inform the Senate whether or not a quorum is present?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. We are waiting for the answer by the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

Mr. DIRKSEN and Mr. KERR addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM AND ORDER FOR RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, while Senators are present I should like to ask the majority leader about his plans for tonight and possibly for tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, if it meets with the approval of the Senate, I should like to have the Senate adjourn or recess between 5:30 and 6 o'clock this evening until 10 o'clock tomorrow, when we can continue our discussion of the bill.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its deliberations tonight it take a recess to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

#### COMMERCIAL COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITE SYSTEM

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11040) to provide for the establishment, ownership, operation, and regulation of a commercial communications satellite system, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, may we have order?

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, if there are no further amendments to be proposed, may we have the third reading of the bill?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas has been recognized.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Has the vote been completed on the previous question, or are we waiting for a quorum?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present. The bill is open to further amendment. The Senator from Texas asked for recognition.



Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, one of the other Senators wishes to speak. I yield the floor.

Mr. DOUGLAS. A parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. What is the question before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question before the Senate is on the committee amendment, as amended.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I claim the floor in my own right.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I hold in my hand an amendment which I understand is to be proposed by the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK] bearing the caption "8-13-62—TTTT."

Mr. President, I read the amendment:

In carrying out the purposes of this Act, enumerated in section 305 (a) and (b), the corporation shall not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. With respect both to its own operations and to the operations of any contractor engaged to carry out these purposes, the corporation shall take affirmative action to insure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.

Mr. President, I am not calling up the amendment, but I understand that the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Pennsylvania will call it up at a subsequent date. I claim the right to speak on this amendment.

Mr. President, we voted cloture this afternoon by quite an extraordinary vote.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. DOUGLAS. A solid phalanx of Republicans voted for cloture. The majority leadership and its faithfuls also voted for cloture. I noticed that five eminent Senators from south of the Mason and Dixon line absented themselves from the floor, and therefore in effect voted for cloture. Two were present and cast specific votes for cloture. There were some of my good friends, members of the so-called liberal bloc, who are political nonresistants and procedural pacifists, who do not believe in using against other opponents the methods which are so often applied to them. As a result, we got cloture by a vote of 63 to 27. I shall not touch on the motives which swayed any of those gentlemen, except to say that from a whole series of different motives, we reached that final result.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President—

Mr. DOUGLAS. I like my dear friend from South Carolina, but I am not going to yield. The Senator from South Carolina was present and voted against cloture, unlike some of his fellow southerners.

Mr. President, we were assured by the Democratic leadership that if cloture were voted, then we could present amendments which would be thoroughly discussed and voted upon, and there would be a thorough discussion before

passage of the bill. What we have witnessed instead is the free use of the guillotine. Extremely important amendments were offered without the majority leader or his deputies taking the trouble to debate them. Immediately a motion to table was offered, and without debate, we are seeing a shutting off of discussion on vital issues, just as many of us feared would happen.

Mr. President, a good many of our friends may not have noticed amendment designated "8-13-62—TTTT," of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]. Perhaps some of our friends from south of the Mason and Dixon line who absented themselves, and therefore permitted cloture to be applied, did not notice the amendment. I will read the amendment again so they will know what they got themselves in for. I am very glad the amendment is to be submitted. The amendment reads as follows:

(d) In carrying out the purposes of this Act, enumerated in section 305 (a) and (b), the corporation shall not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. With respect both to its own operations and to the operations of any contractor engaged to carry out these purposes, the corporation shall take affirmative action to insure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin.

In effect, the amendment would put the principles of the FEPC into the communications satellite system. I would be very reluctant to see the leaders of the Democratic Party make a motion to table that amendment, because the platform of the Democratic Party pledges itself to that type of provision all across the board in industry as a whole. If we get a motion from the Democratic leadership to table the amendment and to guillotine any further discussion, it will be a pretty clear repudiation of the program upon which President Kennedy and the rest of us went to the country in 1960.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on my time?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. PASTORE. If the Senator from Rhode Island, who, when he was Governor, was the father of the FEPC law in the State of Rhode Island, is in the Senate Chamber at the time the amendment is proposed, he will vote to table the amendment. I shall do so with a full heart. I shall do it with no qualms of conscience, because I know the purpose and motive behind the amendment.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, that is a very grave confession, if true. May I say the point is fundamental. If we believe in fair employment practices, we should believe in them for the commercial communications satellite system as well as for industry as a whole. May I point out that now that cloture has been voted, majority rule will prevail and debate is limited. I think no Presiding Officer could properly rule that the amendment is not germane. It certainly is germane to the employment practices of the communications satellite system. If the Chair should err in ruling that it

is not germane, an appeal can always be taken from the ruling of the Chair and the issue will be decided without debate by majority vote. So we will have at least and at last the opportunity to vote on a civil rights measure by majority vote.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair is informed that the Senator cannot yield his time to some other Senator.

Mr. JAVITS. I yield my own time to myself.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois will then lose the floor.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Do I understand it is in order for me to yield to the Senator from New York so that he may speak on his own time?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will lose the floor if he yields.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I regret, therefore, that I cannot yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Senator can regain the floor immediately, can he not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If he is recognized, the Senator can regain the floor.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on that basis?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, if I yield the floor to the Senator from New York, can I recover the floor again if I catch the eye of the Presiding Officer?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct, if the Chair chooses to recognize the Senator.

Mr. DOUGLAS. With that understanding I am glad to yield the floor.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. President, I shall vote for the amendment. I shall vote to sustain an appeal from a ruling of the Chair, if that is made necessary by an adverse ruling on germaneness. I shall vote against tabling the amendment. I think the only justification for voting for cloture upon this whole matter is that it is conducive to sound legislative practice for everybody, including liberals, to call them as we see them on particular legislative matters regardless of where the chips might fall. I hope the Senate will take that to heart. The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] is right. What is occurring is historic. Unless we are going to hew to a historic line, we will be in a great deal of trouble, having adopted a principle that we will apply cloture when we think in all honesty it is deserved. I think we must pursue that principle and adopt amendments, too, and not cut them off except as we decide on a case-by-case basis if we are going to be worthy of the name of Senator and if this body is to be worthy of the great name of the U.S. Senate.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I wish my good friend, the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], were present in the Chamber, because I would like to reply

to his imputation that the motive behind the amendment is unworthy.

First, I did consider the possibility of offering amendments such as part III, which I rejected on the ground that such amendments would not be germane. The amendment to which I refer, however, is perfectly germane. It covers employment practices which a communications satellite system corporation is to observe. We have been very solicitous about the rights of the big corporation which is to control the proposed communications satellite system. Since cloture was applied, we have voted down without debate every measure that would provide for some degree of public participation. Now are we going to vote down, without debate—and with the guillotine operating—an amendment which would provide that the corporation shall not practice discrimination on the grounds of race, creed and color?

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for two questions?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MORSE. It is true, is it not, that the Vice President is chairman of a commission which seeks to eliminate all racial discrimination in connection with Government contracts?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

Mr. MORSE. It is true, is it not, that the proponents of the bill have been trying to argue that the Government, after all, is setting up a bill under which the President of the United States would appoint three members of a board of directors?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Three out of fifteen.

Mr. MORSE. Three of the fifteen. To show the great Federal interest in the bill, should not the same principle apply to such a corporation that applies to a defense contract?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is correct.

Mr. President, I understand that it is not the intention of the framers of the amendment—the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who has never covered himself with more glory than he has during these past days—and the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK]—to bring the amendment up tonight.

I understand it is their intention to bring it up tomorrow. I believe that Senators from all parts of the country and the press and the country should be aware of what the issue is. I hope very much that when the heat of the day subsides and the cool of the evening comes and the calm of meditation replaces the heat of passion the leadership will not decide to guillotine this amendment with another tabling motion, because to do so would be contrary to the principle of the Democratic Party, contrary to the principles upon which President Kennedy was elected, and contrary to the principles by which we won control of the Senate.

I raise this issue, and now await with interest what the Senator from Oregon and the Senator from Pennsylvania will do tomorrow. I believe that we should all search our consciences during the evening and the morning of the second day.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I call up my amendment identified as 8-13-62—KKKK. I call attention to the fact that it is not identified with three K's. [Laughter.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 40, after line 14, insert the following new section:

#### CREATION OF EDUCATIONAL RESERVE FUND

SEC. 405. (a) There is hereby created on the books of the Treasury of the United States a fund to be known as the "educational reserve fund". The educational reserve fund shall consist of revenue received through payment as described by subsection (b).

(b) In consideration of the privileges granted by this Act, any corporation engaged within the United States or any territory or possession thereof in furnishing for hire channels of communication through the use of communications satellites shall annually set aside for the educational reserve fund an amount equal to 8 per centum of the net proceeds of such corporation, as defined by the Federal Communications Commission. Such revenue shall be paid into the fund in conformity with such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe.

(c) Such fund shall be available for the support of any statutory program for Federal aid to public educational institutions and programs hereafter enacted by the Congress, including, but not limited to, primary, secondary, higher, and graduate levels and programs such as educational television, international education, and exchange scholarship.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I will take only a minute or two. This amendment was known in the hearings and in the debate as the Morse-satellite-communications-aid-to-education bill.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, may we have order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. MORSE. The amendment is similar and almost identical in purpose to the purpose of the famous Hill-aid-to-education bill connected with the tides-lands debate of some years ago. Here is a chance to tell the world that we are going to seek to use this system to obtain some funds for education here and abroad, because it deals with international educational programs, and it deals with exchange fellowships and scholarships.

I close by saying that here is a program endorsed by a large, large, large number of educators and educational associations.

It is only regrettable that because of the gag rule imposed upon free debate in the Senate today by the leadership of the Senate we do not have the time to inform the American people what we are doing, namely, fighting for the educational rights of future millions and millions of American boys and girls.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Oregon yield for a question?

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move to table the amendment of the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. DOUGLAS. On this question I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana to table the amendment of the Senator from Oregon. The yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] are absent on official business.

I further announce that the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is necessarily absent.

On this vote, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] is paired with the Senator from Utah [Mr. MOSS].

If present and voting, the Senator from New Mexico would vote "yea," and the Senator from Utah would vote "nay."

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BIBLE], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] would each vote "yea."

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is necessarily absent and, if present and voting, would vote "yea."

The result was announced—yeas 73, nays 17, as follows:

[No. 172 Leg.]

#### YEAS—73

Aiken	Hickey	Murphy
Allott	Hill	Pastore
Beall	Holland	Pearson
Bennett	Hruska	Pell
Boggs	Humphrey	Prouty
Bottum	Jackson	Proxmire
Bush	Javits	Randolph
Butler	Johnston	Saltonstall
Byrd, W. Va.	Jordan, N.C.	Scott
Cannon	Jordan, Idaho	Smathers
Carlson	Keating	Smith, Mass.
Case	Kerr	Smith, Maine
Chavez	Kuchel	Sparkman
Church	Lausche	Stennis
Cooper	Long, Mo.	Symington
Cotton	Magnuson	Talmadge
Curtis	Mansfield	Thurmond
Dirksen	McCarthy	Tower
Dodd	McClellan	Wiley
Eastland	McGee	Williams, N.J.
Engle	Metcalf	Williams, Del.
Ervin	Miller	Young, N. Dak.
Fong	Monroney	Young, Ohio
Goldwater	Morton	
Hickenlooper	Mundt	

#### NAYS—17

Bartlett	Gruening	McNamara
Burdick	Hart	Morse
Carroll	Hartke	Muskie
Clark	Kefauver	Neuberger
Douglas	Long, Hawaii	Yarborough
Gore	Long, La.	

#### NOT VOTING—10

Anderson	Ellender	Robertson
Bible	Fulbright	Russell
Byrd, Va.	Hayden	
Capehart	Moss	

So the motion to lay on the table was agreed to.



### COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent—and I hope the minority leader will agree with me—that notwithstanding the fact that the Senate has agreed to convene at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, the Committee on the Judiciary be allowed to meet during the morning session of the Senate. I make this request for two reasons: First, I understand that tomorrow the nomination of Judge Thurgood Marshall will be considered perhaps for the final day; and also it may be possible for the committee to do some work on the amendments to the drug bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Montana? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Operations, under the chairmanship of the distinguished senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN], be permitted to sit during the session of the Senate tomorrow morning.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

### TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had disagreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 7913) to amend title 10, United States Code, to bring the number of cadets at the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Air Force Academy up to full strength; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. VINSON, Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina, and Mr. ARENDS were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 12180) to extend for a temporary period the existing provisions of law relating to the free importation of personal and household effects brought into the United States under Government orders; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. MILLS, Mr. KING of California, Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois, Mr. BYRNES, and Mr. BAKER were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 10928) to transfer casein or lactarene to the free list of the Tariff Act of 1930.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of

the Senate to each of the following bills of the House:

H.R. 4449. An act to amend paragraph 1774 of the Tariff Act of 1930 with respect to the importation of certain articles for religious purposes; and

H.R. 10852. An act to continue for a temporary period the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of spun silk yarn.

### ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the Vice President:

S. 1918. An act to extend benefits of the Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act Amendments of 1957 to widows and surviving children of former members of the Metropolitan Police force, the Fire Department of the District of Columbia, the U.S. Park Police force, the White House Police force, or the U.S. Secret Service Division, who were retired or who died in the service of any such organization prior to the effective date of such amendments;

H.R. 2139. An act for the relief of Suraj Din;

H.R. 2176. An act for the relief of Salvatore Mortelliti;

H.R. 3127. An act for the relief of Amrik S. Warich;

H.R. 3507. An act to provide for the withdrawal and reservation for the Departments of the Air Force and the Navy of certain public lands of the United States at Luke-Williams Air Force Range, Yuma, Ariz., for defense purposes;

H.R. 3508. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended;

H.R. 6219. An act to permit the vessel *Bar-Ho-IV* to be used in coastwise trade;

H.R. 6456. An act to permit the tugs *John Roen, Jr.*, and *Steve W.* to be documented for use in the coastwise trade;

H.R. 7549. An act for the relief of Lewis Invisible Stitch Machine Co., Inc., now known as Lewis Sewing Machine Co.;

H.R. 8100. An act to amend section 109 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, relative to the general supply fund;

H.R. 10308. An act for the relief of Elizabeth A. Johnson;

H.R. 11643. An act to amend sections 216(c) and 305(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act, relating to the establishment of through routes and joint rates; and

H.J. Res. 439. Joint resolution authorizing the State of Arizona to place in the Statuary Hall collection at the U.S. Capitol the statue of Eusebio Francisco Kino.

### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a communication and the following letters, which were referred as indicated:

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE BUDGET, 1963, FOR GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION (S. Doc. No. 120)

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting an amendment to the budget for the fiscal year 1963, in the amount of \$20,206,000, for the General Services Administration (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

### PLANS FOR WORKS OF IMPROVEMENT IN CERTAIN STATES

A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, plans for works of improvement on the Big Wyandah watershed, Iowa, Lattas Creek and Stucker Fork watershed, Indiana, Bee Creek and Middle Caney watershed, Kansas, Big Muddy Creek, Ky., Bayou Folse watershed, Louisiana, Upper Bogie Phalia watershed, Mississippi, Big Indian Creek, Nebr., Lower Forest River, N. Dak., Middle Fork-Hood River watershed, Oregon, Kaercher Creek, Pa., Duncan Creek watershed, South Carolina, and Neshobe River, Vermont (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

### REPORT OF NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION ON CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

A letter from the Deputy Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on the civil service employees in that administration, as of June 30, 1962; to the Committee on Appropriations.

### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY ACT AMEND- MENTS OF 1962

A letter from the Director, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Armed Services.

### DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE COMMENTS RELATING TO REPORT OF COMPTROLLER GENERAL

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, for the information of the Senate, a copy of the letter by that Department, to the Comptroller General of the United States, providing comments relating to his report on "Review of Stock Funds and Related Consumer Funds in the Department of Defense, Part I," dated June 13, 1962 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Government Operations.

### REPORT ON PERSONAL AND REAL PROPERTY DISPOSED OF TO OR RECEIVED BY PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND CIVIL DEFENSE ORGANIZATION

A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on personal and real property disposed of to or received by public health and educational institutions and civil defense organizations, for the calendar quarter ended June 30, 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

### REPORT ON REVIEW OF CERTAIN POLICIES AND PRACTICES RELATING TO EMPLOYEE FIELD CONFERENCES, BUREAU OF OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE, SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the review of certain policies and practices relating to employee field conferences, Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, May 1962 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Government Operations.

### PROPOSED CONCESSION CONTRACT AT RAINBOW FOREST LODGE, PETRIFIED FOREST NATIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZ.

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, a proposed concession contract at Rainbow Forest Lodge in Petrified Forest National Monument, Ariz. (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

## KENNETH E. FOUSSE AND OTHERS

A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation for the relief of Kenneth E. Fousse and others (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PLANS FOR WORKS OF IMPROVEMENT IN CERTAIN STATES

A letter from the Acting Director, Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, plans for works of improvement on Brandywine Creek, Del. and Pa., Twin Caney watershed, Kansas, Sandy Creek, Pa., and Salado Creek and Valley Creek, Tex. (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Public Works.

## PETITION

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a resolution adopted at the 1962 convention of the Disabled Officers Association, in San Francisco, Calif., commending the Commander in Chief, the U.S. Senate, the Secretary of Defense, the Surgeon General, and the Secretary of the Army for allowing Gen. J. W. Schwartz to address the convention, which was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

## REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following report of a committee was submitted:

By Mr. CHURCH, from the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, without amendment:

H.R. 12355. An act to amend the law relating to the final disposition of the property of the Choctaw Tribe (Rept. No. 1879).

## JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED

A joint resolution was introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. DOUGLAS:

S. J. Res. 216. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period from November 18, 1962, through November 24, 1962, as National German-American Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, August 14, 1962, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1918) to extend benefits of the Policemen and Firemen's Retirement and Disability Act Amendments of 1957 to widows and surviving children of former members of the Metropolitan Police force, the Fire Department of the District of Columbia, the U.S. Park Police force, the White House Police force, or the U.S. Secret Service Division, who were retired or who died in the service of any such organization prior to the effective date of such amendments.

## TRIBUTES TO THE LATE SENATOR CASE OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Mr. BOTTUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD several items appearing in newspapers published in South Dakota

and elsewhere concerning the death of my predecessor and friend, the Honorable Francis Case.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Pierre Reminder, June 1962]

## VAN RAMBLES

(By Cyril Van Hise)

As other South Dakotans are, I am saddened by the death of our devoted servant Francis Case and can recall a little incident that was typical of our honored Senator.

Back in 1939 when I was commander of the local American Legion Post, "Hook" Phares died in Chicago and the body was shipped to Pierre for burial. "Hook" had a friend in Francis Case. Those of you who knew him remember that he acquired the name of "Hook" from his ability to acquire extra food for the soldiers on the border and he had a gift for getting into extraordinary places at unusual times. Whenever Francis had a campaign to win he hired "Hook" to put up posters. Mr. Case said his candidacy was emblazoned on backyard fences, in barns, granaries, and even out-houses and there was much good-natured banter about the whole thing.

"Hook" died of cancer and Senator Case (then Representative Case) had made it possible for him to be admitted to the best Government facility. When he died I knew Francis Case was in the Black Hills so I called him and advised him of the funeral date and hour. He said he would attend.

Came the funeral \* \* \* we went out to the cemetery and were completing the military rites. I looked out of the corner of my eye and saw a solitary figure making his way up the rise through the trees. I motioned to the minister and the others and went out to meet Mr. Case. He came to the graveside proudly and I asked that he say a few words. His response was touching and very beautifully done. I shall never forget it.

This was Francis Case \* \* \* an unforgettable character.

SOUTH DAKOTA POETRY: OUR GREAT GOOD NEIGHBOR, U.S. SENATOR FRANCIS CASE, REPUBLICAN, OF SOUTH DAKOTA, 1896-1962

(From Pasque Petals)

He was good neighbor of our great Northwest—

Intent on projects that would serve us best,  
With grave intensity he gave his days  
To details solving baffling maze on maze.  
He early learned how illy ignorance rules,  
And through his papers pressed for better schools.

At his young neighborliness we sometimes laughed—

Then—in our startled pride, our hats we doffed;

"The summer White House" was his bravest loot—

It put our Black Hills on world tourist route!

Reared in a manse, he seemed to take us all  
As his parishioners—answered call on call:  
He heard the cattle bawl on range drouth-bare,

And water rights, cloud seeding were his care.

In his integrity he clearly knew  
Not rank nor wealth to a man's worth gave clue;

Time and again he went by land and air  
To check that servicemen had what was fair.

In deep sincerity he lived his creed  
When neighborliness must answer personal need.

He was good neighbor to our hills and plains;  
But he was more. He knew the waking pains

Of bypassed men—the power we hold in trust—

He fought the acrid danger of power lust.  
Significant as was his job and great,  
Yet now and then he still had stolen date  
With poetry, and nourished in his heart  
To found a National Center for the Arts;  
While for his loved Black Hills, his newest dream—

To place above its pines the marble gleam  
Of "Christ the Redeemer," on a mountain crest—

Surely a symbol of what he held as best!  
This our memorial—high in the sun—  
A joy and a challenge to all who may come!

—ADELINE M. JENNY.

VALLEY SPRINGS, S. DAK.

[From Yankton Press and Dakotan, June 23, 1962]

## REPUBLICANS OF STATE SHOCKED BY CASE DEATH

The shock which Republicans of South Dakota felt Friday morning when word came from Washington of the death of Senator Francis Case was somewhat like the bomb-shell that hit Americans all over the world in the spring of 1945 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt died.

When President Roosevelt died while World War II was still in progress in Europe and the Pacific, people all over the world wondered just who could take his place in a time of crisis.

And when Francis Case died last week, the Republican Party in South Dakota was left to wonder. "Where do we go from here?" The party was badly shaken by the sudden development, as the highly regarded Senator had been poised to battle George McGovern in the U.S. Senate race in November.

Just who will replace Mr. Case as the Republican candidate in the fall general election—as well as Gov. Archie Gubbrud's choice to fill the vacancy the rest of this year—is still a matter of speculation. An Associated Press story from Pierre Monday listed as favorites for the nomination by the State GOP central committee July 9 the names of Lt. Gov. Joe Bottum, Congressman Reifel, Boyd Leedom, and Nils Boe.

Francis Case was a distinguished public servant who served South Dakota and the Nation well over a 25-year period in the Halls of Congress. He was widely recognized as a man of integrity and a painstaking student of legislation. His contributions in shaping U.S. policy and drafting the law of the land were many.

Just 2 weeks before his death, Senator Case stopped in the Daily Press and Dakotan office while in Yankton for a poetry society banquet at Yankton College. He showed no effects of his mild heart seizure a few months ago, and he was ready for the battle with Democratic Candidate McGovern.

The Food for Peace Director, commenting on Case's overwhelming victory in the primary election a few days before, had suggested that both Senate candidates pledge to conduct a clean campaign according to a code put forward by a committee headed by Charles Taft. Senator Case's reply was significant:

"I do not think I have to take the pledge on that," he stated. "I have been in quite a few campaigns and I cannot recall one in which my opponent or commentators accused me of any mudslinging or dirty tactics \* \* \*. I incline to the belief that the average voter already has some opinion on how our habit of action squares with prior statements of purpose or declarations of intention."

[From the Watertown Public Opinion, June 23, 1962]

## SENATOR FRANCIS CASE

Few men in public or private life in South Dakota have achieved a record of great and



effective service to their State and Nation of such proportions.

Without reservation, this can be said of Senator Francis Case, whose death, as he faced a political campaign for election to his third term in the U.S. Senate, stunned and sorrowed South Dakotans as it did his colleagues in Washington and the scores of others in or out of Federal service with whom his years in Congress had brought him into contact all across the country.

Death did not, in this instance, cut short as it sometimes does, a man's career. Rather it unexpectedly ended a particularly fruitful one that spanned 14 years in the U.S. House of Representatives and almost 12 years in the Senate, yet came at a time when Senator Case was still adhering to the same rigorous work schedule he had always observed and with the same display of vigor, enthusiasm and vitality that characterized his application to every task.

The shock which swept the State and National Capital in the news of the death of Senator Case was magnified, of course, by the sequence of medical bulletins issued during and after the Senator's confinement in a hospital some weeks ago. These indicated that whatever impairment caused the hospitalization was a mild affair and that treatment and rest had fully restored the Senator's health. If the Senator, himself, was aware of any other situation than thus revealed, his refusal to acknowledge it or yield to its possible implications was characteristic of his lifelong attitude of always placing duty to his responsibilities above personal convenience or comfort.

Throughout his long career, Mr. Case was known for the strenuous work routine he observed and the physically demanding schedules he followed in fulfilling every demand on his time and talent he could possibly meet.

It was this diligence, of course, plus his informed judgment, experience and intimate knowledge of South Dakota and its problems and people, which enabled Senator Case to attain the achievements that constitute his impressive record.

More completely chronicled elsewhere, Mr. Case's accomplishments include such outstanding contributions as his long participation in the formulation of the Missouri Basin program now materializing in the gigantic flood control dams, great inland lakes, hydroelectric power and irrigation potential; his leading role in the planning and legislation for the great Interstate Highway System that will give the Nation more than 40,000 miles of superhighways within a few more years; his sponsorship of the Renegotiation Act of 1942 which saved the Federal Government millions of dollars on wartime contracts; and of the legislation which assisted surplus disposal as well as advancing foreign aid by providing payments to the United States in the currencies of the countries being helped.

Mr. Case was a diligent student in every facet of his responsibilities as a Congressman. He probably possessed as thorough knowledge and understanding of the tremendous flow of legislation in Capitol Chambers, and of its implications for the State and Nation, as any man in Congress. It was this informed knowledge that won the admiration and the respectful ear of his colleagues in both political parties through the years, and made effective so many of the efforts he undertook. He attained positions of influence on powerful committees of the Senate, where his service won the respect and esteem that was reflected in and out of Government in the messages of sorrow and regret that mounted throughout Friday.

Throughout South Dakota, as in the Capitol, the name of Senator Case has long been a symbol of dedicated and honorable public service and so it will remain. We join with

thousands of others in extending our sincerest sympathy to Mr. Case's family.

[From the Sioux Falls Argus-Leader,  
June 25, 1962]

#### HERB BECHTOLD'S ROUND ROBIN

##### MEMORIES OF A COLUMNIST ABOUT A FRIEND

Senator Francis Case was a hard worker. There was the time he was scheduled to make three appearances in Sioux Falls in 1 day. The first was at 7 a.m. At 3:30 that afternoon he had inspected the new armory in Sioux Falls and had given speeches at two other places—and still had not had time to eat that day.

He generated ideas by the dozen. He kept his staff stepping with his ideas, scrawled on newspaper clippings, paper napkins or any old scrap that was handy. His major ideas usually showed up as a new piece of legislation or an amendment. It was said that he was the "amendingest Senator" in service.

Senator Case was a dry. His father was a retired Methodist minister and his mother was active in temperance work.

There was the time a reporter in Pierre invited him to have a beer before the Senator left by train.

They moved to a local tavern where the Senator matched the reporter bottle for bottle—but with grape pop.

Rancher Case found relaxation in Washington by riding horseback—usually at the Maryland farm of Owen Scott, former Sioux Falls man who is executive editor of U.S. News & World Report.

Case also used to play baseball and tennis. A reminder of his baseball days was a bat which stood in one corner of his office with a broken handle. It was broken the last time the Senator got hold of it during a game.

Look magazine once referred to Senator Case as an "outstanding campaigner for higher ethics in public office." It was his policy to accept only small gifts "such as candy or fruit." The largest gift he would accept was "an annual turkey."

Senator Case was a religious man. In August of 1958, while on a trip to South America, he saw the towering, impressive "Christ, the Redeemer" statue on Mount Corcovado overlooking Rio de Janeiro. That Christmas, he used a picture of the giant statue on his Christmas cards and advocated a figure of "Christ on the Mountain" in the Black Hills near Spearfish, home of the famous "Passion Play." He suggested that a model made many years ago by Gutzon Borglum be used. Case wanted the beatitudes from the Sermon on the Mount inscribed on the pedestal below the figure.

National Geographic magazine carried a picture in 1959 which showed Senator Case with the flag that never was. It was one of the 39-star flags which were designed in 1889 when it seemed likely that the two Dakotas would form one State.

Senator Case met General de Gaulle at the French Embassy in Washington in 1960 and pointed out to him that predominantly Scandinavian South Dakota has a French name for its State capital. Case told the general that no offense was meant in the un-French pronunciation which South Dakotans use when they call Pierre "Peer."

Case was sharp with figures in Congress and also in predicting the outcome of elections. Prior to the November 1960 election he predicted that Richard Nixon would carry South Dakota by 57.34 percent. Actual vote was 58.21. Case forecast a 52.76 vote for Senator KARL MUNDT. Actual vote: 52.44. Case said Archie Gubbrud would win by 50.57. Actual margin: 50.73.

Most people, to look at the small, solemn and, seemingly humorless Senator from Custer, would never dream that he was in one of the great absurdities of the 20th century.

Anyone old enough to have read a newspaper in 1927 must remember that photograph of "Silent Cal," taken in the Black Hills near Senator Case's ranch. President Calvin Coolidge had a 20-gallon hat rammed down over his ears. He looked so utterly absurd with his dour visage peering out from under the monstrous sombrero that the entire Nation was convulsed.

The picture was printed and reprinted, to undiminishing mirth. It became such a sensitive matter that those who were in on the stunt soon got to the point where they would not admit having been in the vicinity, or even South Dakota.

Nearly three decades later, Senator Case confessed that he was in on the shenanigans. "I was standing right beside him when it was done," he said. "But wild horses couldn't make me identify the actual culprit."

#### INDIAN GROUP HONORS MEMORY OF SENATOR FRANCIS CASE

"His day is done, the shadows have fallen and a great friend of the Sioux lies at rest.

"Eloquence and elaborate phrases will not express the feeling of the Sioux people. Glowing tributes would be amiss, this public servant and a great friend of the Sioux, if living, would not desire them so.

"Then let's all be agreed: Here was an honest, sincere friend of the great Sioux Nation. And after all, what tribute could be finer: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That since the Great Spirit, the Creator of all mankind, in His infinite wisdom has chosen to take from among us, this diligent, honest and devoted friend of the Sioux people, the Wounded Knee Subcommunity Council of Wounded Knee, S. Dak., regrets the passing of this devoted friend and servant whose memory we shall ever cherish; be it further

"Resolved, That to his bereaved wife, Mrs. Francis Case, friends and relatives, we tender our heartfelt sympathy. We sincerely hope and pray that the Great Spirit will look down with compassion upon the bereaved, and will encircle His arms of love and protection around them during their hour of trial; be it further

"Resolved, That in token of our feelings, a copy of this resolution be mailed to the surviving spouse, Mrs. Francis Case, of Custer, S. Dak., and that copies of this resolution be incorporated in the minutes of our proceedings, there to remain as a memorial to the integrity and fidelity of our friend and defender of the Sioux people's right, the Honorable Francis Case."

#### CERTIFICATION

I, the undersigned, as secretary of the Wounded Knee Subcommunity Council of Wounded Knee, S. Dak., hereby certify that the foregoing resolution was duly adopted by the members of said Wounded Knee Subcommunity Council on June 26, 1962, by a unanimous vote.

MATTHEW HIGH PINE,  
Secretary.

Attest:

OSCAR HOLLOW HORN,  
President.

Dated June 26, 1962.

[From the Aberdeen American-News,  
June 26, 1962]

#### CREDIT TO MIDWEST REPUBLICANISM

Tributes paid to Senator Francis Case at his funeral Tuesday, added to those that have been voiced and written by hundreds of his friends during the past few days, strongly reveal the esteem in which he was held.

The respect for him expressed in the newspapers of South Dakota—the State he had served in Congress for 25 years—was

expected by all who were familiar with his record of service.

The late Republican Senator's friends are gratified to know that many persons outside of South Dakota shared with his home State constituents a sincere admiration for his qualities.

As an example, the Washington Post, a newspaper that favors the liberal point of view in Government and finds merit in more Democratic than Republican policies, commented editorially:

"The death of Francis H. Case takes from the Senate an honest, conservative friend of the District of Columbia and a legislator who was spunky enough to report on the offer of a bribe. The offer came in 1956 when a \$2,500 campaign contribution was dangled before the South Dakota Republican with the object of influencing his vote on natural gas legislation then before Congress. Mr. Case was shocked by the blatant offer, and had enough courage to expose this attempt to use money to buy votes.

"Ultimately, the natural gas bill was vetoed by President Eisenhower on the grounds that improper influences were used to secure its passage. But some of Mr. Case's colleagues seemed more indignant at the Senator's exposure of the scandal than they were by the offer of the 'gift' itself.

"An inquiry headed by the late Senator George censured the lobbyists involved but failed to commend Mr. Case for bringing the improper offer to attention. It was a wry footnote that a 'clean elections' bill arising from the incident and sponsored by virtually every Member of the Senate was entombed in committee.

"Senator Case deserves to be remembered for more than his connection with a notorious incident. He served as chairman of the Senate District Committee for many years and showed a diligent concern for the welfare of Washington. Always an advocate of economy, he is credited with saving the taxpayers millions when he introduced a bill during World War II requiring renegotiation of war contracts.

"A former newspaperman, a politician who inclined more to the colorless than the flamboyant, Senator Case was an agrarian conservative whose earnest sincerity was a credit to Midwest republicanism."

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 27, 1962]

#### SENATOR CASE'S FINEST HOUR

Senator Francis Case, Republican of South Dakota, who died last week, was not a lawmaker of unusual distinction, generally. But 6 years ago he set one example of tested virtue that stirred the country and had historic repercussions.

Probably many legislators receive propositions in various forms that could be broadly termed attempts to bribe. But even when they conscientiously spurn such offers they are usually unwilling to crowd the hero's bench by exposing the propositioners. Not Case.

In 1956 the Senate was about to pass and send to the White House the heavily lobbied bill to exempt natural gas producers from Federal rate regulation. Case was about to vote for it, but told the Senate he would not because of having just received, and rejected, a \$2,500 "campaign contribution" from one of the gas companies.

The Senate passed the bill anyway, but Case had stirred such public indignation at the gas interests' overlobbying that President Eisenhower, who would have signed the bill, vetoed it by way of rebuke to their "arrogance." The odor has so lingered that to this day the proponents have not been able to get the bill passed again.

Senate investigators came up with a fine distinction that the money was an "attempt to influence" but not a bribe, because no specific tit for tat was proposed. Far from being a forthright contribution, however, it

was in \$100 bills in a blank envelope, relayed through two gas company attorneys to a friend of Case's campaign manager. The two attorneys confessed to lobbying without a license, but that was the legal end of the matter.

The Senator himself was a reluctant hero, wryly noting that a \$2,500 contribution in any case would have raised too many eyebrows in South Dakota. Nor did he get any praise or thanks from his colleagues, who generally felt more annoyed than anything else at having the subject come up. Clean-election bills in the wake of the incident have fared no better than the gas bill itself.

[From the Corsica Globe, June 27, 1962]

As it comes to all men, so death came to Senator Case on Friday. South Dakota and the Nation lost a great statesman. During his 25 years in Washington, Mr. Case demonstrated that he was a student of public affairs, that because his decisions were based on principle and study he did not waver, while being tolerant and moderate.

Those who now say that they did not always see eye to eye with the Senator, but respected his great devotion to his position, are in effect saying that he was right. That is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to a public servant.

More or less personal: The writer knew Senator Case as a newspaper publisher before he went to Washington, and was delegate at the State convention which nominated him over four other candidates for Congressman. Subsequently it was always a privilege and a pleasure to visit with him when the opportunity presented itself.

[From the Clark County (S. Dak.) Courier, June 27, 1962]

#### SELECTING A NEW CANDIDATE

Clark County, S. Dak., and the Nation lost a true friend last week with the death of Francis Case. Admiration for the man has been expressed by men of both parties, among those being his competition for office, George McGovern.

The quality that made a lasting impression on the writer's mind was the announcement some years back that he was considered one of the hardest working Senators in Washington. Time magazine and dailies carried the story, in which they remarked how thorough he was in securing the facts before making a decision. Because of this thoroughness, Senator Case was one of the best informed men in Washington.

The Senator visited Clark County not many months ago. He had aged since his previous visit, but he was still loaded with ideas, and prepared to fight for the things he felt were right.

[From the Elk Point (S. Dak.) Leader-Courier, June 28, 1962]

#### SENATOR CASE

South Dakota and the Nation have lost a great man. Senator Francis Case, U.S. Senator from South Dakota, an able man and an outstanding Senator has died.

Senator Case was a highly respected man in the U.S. Senate. He sponsored many important bills in Congress and saw many of them enacted into law. The Senator was highly regarded among his colleagues for his knowledge of the many complex problems confronting the lawmakers. At the same time he worked energetically and successfully for the State of South Dakota. This State has benefited tremendously from his efforts.

Senator Francis Case has made his mark on the Nation and certainly on South Dakota. In South Dakota he will long be remembered for the personal attention he gave to the many problems brought to him by his constituents. The friendly, thoughtful consid-

eration given to the people he served will always assure him a place in the hearts of his fellow South Dakotans.

[From the Moody County (S. Dak.) Enterprise (Flandreau), June 28, 1962]

#### SENATOR FRANCIS CASE

Many words have been written and many will be added concerning the loss to South Dakota and the Nation in the death of Senator Francis Case. The news was received in South Dakota and across the Nation last Friday and came as a shock to the country. It was known that the Senator had been hospitalized in March and on Thursday evening news was relayed that the Senator had been taken to the hospital but his illness was not termed as serious. Thus his sudden passing had not been expected and his loss was keenly felt.

Francis Case served the State and Nation faithfully through seven terms in the House of Representatives and two in the U.S. Senate. He has been described as an indefatigable worker, a man of firm convictions and vast knowledge, with an unusual insight into the workings of government.

As a public servant, Mr. Case never ceased to strive for what he thought was right, and his opponents would and have been the first to praise his abilities, integrity, and effectiveness.

The examples set by Francis Case as he served his State and Nation should form a great challenge for his successor and the individuals who follow in his stead would be wise to heed his great work both in South Dakota and in Washington.

[From the Woonsocket (S. Dak.) News, June 28, 1962]

#### DEATH OF CASE LOSS TO SOUTH DAKOTA AND NATION

The untimely death of Senator Francis Case Friday is a distinct loss to South Dakota and the United States. The Senator served South Dakota through nearly all of his adult life, as a newspaper publisher, then as Congressman for many years and was nearing the end of his second term as Senator. He served his State and Nation well in the interests of good government and South Dakota residents stand to benefit for untold years as result of his leadership in developing State resources, particularly the harnessing of the Missouri River. His accomplishments include the stature and courage to battle for what he believed to be the best for his country and for the people he represented in national legislative assembly. His death leaves a vacancy in the U.S. Senate which will be exceedingly difficult to fill in the manner in which it has been occupied.

[From the Wolsey (S. Dak.) News, June 28, 1962]

South Dakota politics were upset last week in the death of Senator Francis Case. He had served well in the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate, and all South Dakotans can well be proud of the fine record he made in the 25 years he represented this State.

At the time of his death, Senator Case was the Republican nominee to succeed himself and he was to be opposed by George McGovern of the Democratic Party. It was generally conceded that the Senate race this year would be exciting and probably close with the edge going to Senator Case. Now, however, the Republicans have to select a new candidate strong enough to retain the senatorship for their party.

Senator Case was strong politically in South Dakota and very influential in Washington, D.C. He was a reserved and a firm student of government and was constantly alert to benefits to be derived by the Nation



and the State of South Dakota. Many pieces of legislation he sponsored will have a long-lasting benefit. His fine work on the National and State levels will be greatly missed.

[From the White (S. Dak.) Leader, June 28, 1962]

#### NATION MOURNS DEATH OF SENATOR FRANCIS CASE

Flags in our town and over the State were at half-staff Tuesday as the citizens shared in honoring the memory of Senator Francis Case whose funeral was held that day.

From everyone, all party lines erased, come praises for the service Senator Case rendered his State and country during the 25 years he represented South Dakota in Congress.

The descriptive word used most often is "dedicated." Perhaps no other expresses more precisely his attitude toward his responsibilities. His integrity, honesty, industry, and ability never were questioned.

In one of his late newsletters he said: "The destiny of man in the province of God is not the destruction of His universe. It is the privileged responsibility of everyone to hope and to work for a brighter day for all mankind."

EVERETT M. DIRKSEN said some time ago, "Case is undramatic but he is thorough."

All seem to agree that Senator Case contributed service far beyond the call of duty.

His passing on is a great loss to his party, his State and to the Nation. Let us honor his memory by our own more devoted participation in the movements that will accomplish the high standards for which he strove.

The various interests of Senator Francis Case are shown in his last newsletter. In it he touched upon weather, crops, the wise use of water, flood control on the Vermillion River, satellite communications, importation of beef, connected with tariff-cutting, drop-outs from high school, construction for defense, foreign aid, and more. He closed with this expression of appreciation: "A personal note: Thank you, everyone, for whatever interest you may have taken in the primary election of June 5, 1962. I trust that in every respect the results may contribute to responsible and effective representative government."

[From the Sisseton (S. Dak.) Courier, June 28, 1962]

#### GREATLY MISSED LEADER

The sudden death of Senator Francis Case has caused great sorrow among residents of South Dakota.

This was a man who had provided 25 years of outstanding service to the State and Nation. Few men in public or private life have provided such capable leadership in Washington.

People of Roberts County, credited with giving him the largest margin of victory of any area in the State during the June primary, will sadly miss this man. He was a real friend of people in northeast South Dakota regardless of their color, creed or political beliefs.

Accomplishments in the Senate include legislation for weather research, cloud modification, desalination of water and highway acts. He also introduced laws to dispose of surplus farm commodities for foreign currencies.

It goes without saying that both South Dakota and the Nation will sadly miss this great man in the coming months.

[From the Selby (S. Dak.) Record, June 28, 1962]

South Dakota lost a great booster and friend when Senator Francis Case passed away from a heart attack last Friday. Sincere sadness was expressed by men and

women when they learned of the unexpected death of a man who was completing 25 years as a Member of Congress from the State of South Dakota. From both political parties came expressions of regret for his untimely death. During the 25 years that Francis Case served South Dakota, many accomplishments were made under his direction and his works and efforts for the State will live for many years in the minds of those who knew him. His loss is a distinct one to the State.

[From the Salem (S. Dak.) Special, June 28, 1962]

#### SENATOR CASE

South Dakota citizens were stunned Friday morning by the sad news of the death of Senator Francis Case. His sudden passing came as a complete surprise to all his constituents.

It has been said by many already, and we wish to concur, that in the loss of Senator Case, South Dakota and the Nation lost a true public servant. The one thing about Senator Case which will always be remembered is that he never forgot, in all his years in Washington, that he was elected by South Dakotans to represent their needs in our Capital and this was a job he performed with great ability. With him his State and people were first.

Certainly it is no secret that we have, on numerous occasions, taken exceptions to many of his ideas and philosophies, because we belonged to different political parties with different ideas, but we always respected the Senator because he was consistent in his politics and the people of South Dakota always knew where the former newspaperman from Custer stood. For this he was respected by his fellow Republicans and Democrats alike.

His confidence in the wonderful natural resources of our State and the work he did in behalf of the conservation and development of those resources will linger long to remind us of his service to all of the people of South Dakota.

[From the Rosholt (S. Dak.) Review, June 28, 1962]

Just recently, Senator Francis Case wrote a nice personal note to us, little knowing that it would be the last letter we would ever get from him.

Senator Case is dead.

The State of South Dakota thus loses a public servant of tremendous ability and dedicated service.

Nothing spectacular about Mr. Case, but when he said something he meant it and everybody knew he meant it.

Here's one man whose shoes will be hard to fill in the Halls of Congress.

[From the Pollock (S. Dak.) Pioneer, June 28, 1962]

#### POLLOCK SHARES SADNESS OVER DEATH OF CASE

The people of Pollock share the sadness of the rest of South Dakota, and of the Nation, over the loss of Senator Francis Case.

His loss, in fact, may be felt more deeply here than in many other areas. Not only was he a personal friend of many Pollock residents, but he was a friend of the community. He was the chief speaker at the ground breaking which started the new town in June of 1955, and he was the chief speaker at the opening last August of the north causeway, which marked the completion of the actual relocation phase of the new town.

In between these events he made several visits to Pollock, and helped the community win success in many projects of vital importance which otherwise might have ended in failure. His work in Washington, along with that of Senator KARL MUNDT, helped get the water system, the school, and even

the causeway which now has formed the new Lake Pocasse.

No one is impossible to replace, but it will be difficult, at best, to replace Senator Case. His years of experience and his seniority, and his extensive knowledge of the problems of South Dakota, meant much to the State.

[From the Mobridge (S. Dak.) Tribune, June 28, 1962]

#### SENATOR CASE'S SUCCESSOR

The unexpected death Friday of Senator Francis Case was a great loss to South Dakota and to the Nation, and a personal blow to the friends in this vicinity who had known him personally for many years and held him in the highest esteem.

Senator Case was a friend to Mobridge during the many years when he was west river Congressman, as well as during his 12 years in the U.S. Senate. His place will be hard to fill.

The Republican Party now has the difficult task of selecting the man they feel can best fill Francis Case's shoes. There will be no lack of candidates, for anyone who has been in the political arena considers serving in the U.S. Senate as the highest position to which he could aspire.

Both Sigurd Anderson and Boyd Leedom, now serving in Federal bureaus in Washington, have been mentioned as possible candidates. The Tribune believes that both men have lost touch with the problems and needs of South Dakota during their 10 years in the National Capital, and should remain in their high bureaucratic positions.

Nor do we believe that either of our U.S. Representatives should desert the posts to which they are certain to be reelected for the dangerous assignment of challenging George McGovern for the Senate post. Both REIFEL and BERRY will serve us better where they are.

Our choice for the Republican candidate would be either former Gov. Joe Foss or Lt. Gov. JOE BORTUM, both exceptionally able campaigners and men of high repute. We recommend either to the members of the State central committee who will make the decision.

[From the Milbank (S. Dak.) Herald Advance, June 28, 1962]

#### WE EXPRESS SYMPATHY

South Dakota will long mourn, nor will it soon replace Senator Francis Case, who died Friday while at work for his country.

But to his family and to his immediate associates the loss is a personal one that is only made sharper by the greatness of the man they can no longer see or hear, but only remember.

Eulogies have been written, memorial services have been held, praise has been freely given, but these are but the gestures made when loss is too great to encompass in a few moments.

It is in the hours that follow those of shock and reaction that those close to the Senator must face their loss.

The editor of the Herald Advance and the members of her family join all the others of our Nation in extending sympathy to the family of Senator Francis Case, his wife, his daughter, his granddaughter, and his sisters.

To his office force, too, we express our regrets for we know in what deep respect and affection they held their wonderful "boss."

Perhaps this is the moment to remind them how fortunate they all have been to expend their energies, their love, and affection, upon one who so richly deserved it, who was held in esteem, not only by those who knew him well, but by the great men of our Nation who worked with him and were impressed by his integrity and ability.

[From the Lennox (S. Dak.) Independent,  
June 28, 1962]

#### A HERO PASSES ON

He may not have fallen in battle on the shores of a Pacific island or on a battlefield in Europe, but Senator Francis Case died a hero last week in the battle to preserve this Republic and the liberty for which it stands.

A soft-spoken but influential Member of the Senate, Francis Case was respected by Republicans and Democrats alike. No one ever had reason to question the good Senator's integrity or sincerity and the most evident reason for the opposition he collected during his political career was due to the fact that he refused to compromise his principles nor show personal favoritism in return for financial or political support.

Lobbyists and special interest groups always could count on Senator Case listening to their pleas, but all soon came to realize that their cause would be considered by him only if it were in the best interests of South Dakota and our Nation. Even those with whom he disagreed came to respect him and often had to concede in the long run that Case was right and they were wrong.

We are proud to have known Francis Case. It always gave us a certain feeling of satisfaction that Case, a former weekly newspaper publisher, so well represented the people of South Dakota and was able to hold his own against any and all statesmen and politicians regardless of their background or circle of friends. We did not have the privilege of talking to the good Senator in the past 2 years but the last time he was in Lennox we visited with him at the Independent office and through that conversation were again reassured that South Dakota was represented in the Senate by one of the most able and conscientious men we have known.

Senator Case loved South Dakota and its people and was justly proud of his beloved Black Hills. Although his demanding duties in Washington gave him little time at home, he often expressed his joy at being able to return occasionally, and had he lived beyond his active career in the Senate we are sure he would have thoroughly enjoyed his declining years in the land he loved and served so nobly.

We know there are others who are better able to eulogize this great man at his passing, but as South Dakotans and Americans we wish to express our deep feeling of loss. Francis Case will not be easily replaced for men of such dedication, courage, and high principles are few and far between. The good soldier he was, Senator Case did not expect to go unscathed in the battle for liberty. He did not find his work easy or his path smooth, and as a Christian soldier, we are sure Francis Case understood the significance of the words that God will bury the workman but not his works.

The work of Senator Case will live on as this country remains free and his passing should serve to remind us all of our personal responsibilities in matters of government. We should, with increased devotion, seek to serve our country with courage, and adherence to those principles which have made this country great, as did Senator Case.

[From the Britton (S. Dak.) Journal,  
June 28, 1962]

#### SENATOR FRANCIS CASE DIES

South Dakota lost an exceedingly able and conscientious citizen last week in the death of Senator Francis Case. His loss will be felt not only in South Dakota but in the Halls of Congress for he was highly respected by political friend and foe alike.

Senator Case worked tirelessly for South Dakota and the Nation and his devotion to public duty certainly serves as an outstanding example to others. There is little question that Senator Case worked for the future as well as present day. Many of the proposals submitted by the late South Dakota

Senator and adopted by Congress will have their greatest benefit to the Nation and to South Dakota in the years to come—his legislation to study brackish water and cloud seeding to mention only two.

Development of the Missouri River was promoted by Senator Case, as well as others, and the full impact of this project has not begun to be felt as yet.

Senator Case leaves a "big pair of shoes" to fill in Washington—though not big in the physical sense, he was indeed big in ability. Whoever steps into those shoes has his work cut out for him.

[From the Miner County Pioneer (Howard),  
June 29, 1962]

The death of Senator Francis Case was a great loss to both South Dakota and the Nation due to his devoted service during the many years he served this State in both the House and Senate in Washington.

His passing, as that of others, reminds us of something that has always seemed a pity—we might even say a tragedy. The fact that a person must die to be recognized for his abilities and his contributions in life.

In fact, it makes us just a bit sick to our stomach when we read and hear the many tributes paid to men and women after they are dead. Then, it seems they just can't say enough good about them, but they could not find the time to say anything nice about them while they were living.

It seems that most persons are prone to "criticize, condemn, and complain" than they are to "honor, praise, or give thanks." It would be a much happier world if we could just keep that in mind.

[From the Lake Preston (S. Dak.) Times,  
June 29, 1962]

#### TRUE SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

The sudden and untimely death of Senator Francis Case last Friday ended 25 years of service to State and Nation in Congress and there are a lot of high points in an illustrious legislative career for South Dakotans to recall.

Coming to South Dakota in 1949, we knew Case only during the second, or Senate phase of his congressional career. But in the past dozen years—through a few meetings, hearing some speeches, but mostly through close study of newslette s through many congressional sessions we gained a great respect for his conscientious attention to duty, his sincerity and legislative honesty, and an unremitting industry in fulfilling his legislative duties.

Naturally, there were many instances when we didn't agree with his views, but shadings of economic and sociological viewpoint are minor compared to an intellectual honesty that made publicity seeking secondary to legislative accomplishment, even to one making a career of politics.

A lack of bombast, the barest minimum of National and State headlines characterized his career—but that career was also characterized by lot of accomplishment, much of it unheralded.

To our way of thinking the high point of Case's career came in December 1955, when he put the gas and oil industry to rout—and the American public is still reaping dollar and cent benefits from Case's exposé of the attempt to bribe him.

For that bribe which went awry as it ran up against an honesty the like of which the gas and oil lobby had had no firsthand experience before, killed the gas bill in that and several succeeding congressional sessions. Regulation of gas rates was not taken from the Federal Power Commission.

It required moral courage for the Senator, then in his first term, to risk ostracizing himself in that most close-knit of all clubs, the U.S. Senate; it took political courage, too, to make South Dakota's largest newspaper

"look bad" in the State and in journalistic circles over the entire Nation.

Yes, it would have been financially rewarding to have accepted the \$2,500 he could have used very well; it would have been convenient to have politely—and quietly—declined the bribe offer. That would have been the easiest way, but would not have been the way of a truly dedicated public servant.

So, for one of the few times in the past half-century, the oil and gas industry was taken to task.

For above all, Francis Case was a true servant of the people.

[From the Lemmon (S. Dak.) Tribune,  
June 29, 1962]

#### THE SENATOR

The impact of Senator Francis Case's death, although a stunning blow to all America, will not reach its proportional import for many months to come. It is difficult, you see, to hurriedly weigh the abilities of a man of the Senator's caliber in a few short days. No one, with the exception of God Himself, could do justice to such a monumental endeavor in so short a period of time.

All that can be done by the Nation's press, in due tribute to Senator Case's admirable record, is to reflect briefly his public mood, temperament, accomplishments, and dreams of the future. This of course is being done, as we all know.

Many of his congressional and senatorial colleagues, high governmental officials and President Kennedy himself, have offered comments of the highest praise about this unusual man who seemed to possess a rare virtue of commanding the respect of even his most intense political rivals.

These excerpts too, regardless of their well-written structure, do not come close to doing the Senator proud. For words of this nature, like all words of respect and admiration associated with death, have a way of being too freely given. Consequently, they lose much of their significance when a truly deserving man like Senator Case is involved.

The Tribune believes that South Dakota and likewise the Nation, has lost one of the most dedicated legislators ever to trod the thankless road of public service. Senator Case was not a controversial or for that matter, an extremely colorful solon. His frail physical stature seemed to coincide with his quiet mannerisms. Yet, what he lacked in unimportant material attractiveness, he more than made up for with devoted heart, keen mind, and an awing ability to get things done—and done right. It was these segments of his character which molded the foundation for his greatness.

Needless to say, a one-hundred percent replacement for Senator Case is the next thing to impossible.

It is our hope however, that the man chosen to occupy the Senator's office in Washington, D.C., will pattern his tenure after the atmosphere of high integrity which must abound from within its confines.

[From the Canova (S. Dak.) Herald, July 4,  
1962]

#### AN ABLE STATESMAN

South Dakota lost one of its ablest—if not the ablest—public servant the State has ever had in the recent death of U.S. Senator Francis Case. Case was a man who carefully examined all angles of every problem that confronted him and when he once decided on a course of action he could not be sidetracked by fear or pressure from doing the thing he thought best for his State and the people in it. After going to Washington a quarter of a century ago he soon acquired the reputation of being a hard worker and he never forgot that his first obligation was to the people of South Dakota. He never was inclined to be a social butterfly in the



Nation's Capital and took out little time for recreation. In fact, his strict adherence to business and the duties of his office may have been a factor in shortening his life but he probably would not have had it any other way. It will be hard to pick a man to fill Senator Case's shoes. He will occupy a big place in the history of the State. The newspaper fraternity of the State is proud of the fact that Case started his career as a newspaperman in South Dakota.

[From the Hamlin County (S. Dak.) Herald Enterprise (Hayti), July 5, 1962]

It is trite to say that in the passing of Senator Francis Case both the State of South Dakota and the Nation sustained an irreplaceable loss—particularly so in a distraught time like the present when cool-headed, analytical thinking is so vitally important. For more than most, the late Senator possessed a deep sense of statesmanship that ran like a bright golden thread through his public service. It, and his sterling honesty, earned him the deep esteem and respect of all whom he served. Not an extremist, he demonstrated repeatedly nevertheless throughout his fine public career that he was not afraid to stand upon his convictions, or to champion righteous, albeit momentarily unpopular, causes. In the light of this it is not to be wondered that South Dakotans generally experienced a sense of deep depression on that beautiful June Friday morning when the shocking word came that its good and faithful servant of long years had passed on unexpectedly. For he had rendered a uniformly superb quality of service that will be difficult to match, ever.

Perhaps few people can comprehend the energy and application to the job that the late Senator Case devoted to his work, or even make an approximation of the widespread ramification of his interests and activities. The writer recalls the thoroughness of the Senator's application in the instance some years back when certain liquor interests in the State embarked on a program of compromising and corrupting municipal liquor store managers through resort to gifts and bribes. The Senator followed up every lead, assembled an impressive volume of information on the subject, spoke repeatedly in the Senate on the subject, and finally brought the offending wholesalers to book. It cost these malingers some hundreds of thousands of dollars in penalties, and brought about a general housecleaning for the whole sorry picture. While this was a masterful victory for the public, a tribute to his tireless persistence, and a distinct feather in his cap, Senator Case carried it along routinely with his customarily heavy grist of senatorial work. Nor did we ever learn that he capitalized publicly—as he would have been fully justified in doing—on the fine job he consummated so successfully in this instance.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF PADEREWSKI RESTING PLACE

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, for 21 years the remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski have rested in Arlington National Cemetery in a vault beneath the mast of the U.S.S. *Maine*. No word or symbol marks this crypt. Paderewski, known to the world during his lifetime as a pianist who became patriot leader of Poland, thus lies, unforgotten but unacknowledged, in a nation which treasures the memory of this great man.

In 1941, when his body was first placed in Arlington Cemetery, the thinking was that no marker should be placed there, because the body would be moved to Po-

land when that nation became free once more. This is still the plan, and we know that some day the transfer will be made. Poland will become free once more. Her people demand it. People of other free nations, including our own, know that the Polish yearning for freedom is as alive today as it has been through the centuries. The eventual triumph of this spirit is inevitable.

Until that day, and until the body of Ignace Paderewski is moved to his free homeland, I believe that we in this Nation should do everything we can to express our affection, friendship, and respect for him. A simple marker at his tomb would, I think, serve as a reminder to the world that the United States holds his remains in temporary trust. We will yield his remains when the goal he worked for is achieved.

If we were to identify Paderewski's resting place, we would, I think remind the world once more that Paderewski and the United States worked together after World War I to create a new state. Wilson said then that self-determination was every nation's right. We hear the same theme at the United Nations today. It is a vital theme. It should be heard in every decade, and the simple act of placing a marker at Paderewski's tomb would help us sound that theme in very effective fashion.

The marker would remind us, too, of Paderewski's other contributions to Poland and to the world.

President Kennedy himself has said:

Paderewski rose to become one of the greatest musicians in the history of the world, and one of the foremost statesmen of the 20th century.

This reputation was earned during Paderewski's years of struggle for Polish independence, years of leadership in his own nation, and a final effort to rid his homeland once more of aggressors. His public career began during World War I, when he interrupted his spectacular career as a concert pianist to come to America and recruit and organize a hundred thousand Poles to fight for Polish independence.

He returned home after the armistice to become Poland's Premier and Foreign Minister. At the Versailles Peace Conference it was Paderewski and Wilson who established the basis of modern Polish independence. One of President Wilson's 14 points was the creation of an independent Polish state.

After free Poland was created, Paderewski returned again to the music he loved. His concert tours were among the most successful in the world. The music critic of the New York Times remarked, "If one takes examples of his most lovely and iridescent performances, there is no one else who matches him."

Hitler's invasion of Poland in 1939, once again called Paderewski from his music and to the defense of liberty. He immediately began raising funds for Polish defense, again contributing much of his own money to the cause. In 1940, Paderewski, 79 years old and in poor health, accepted the Presidency of the Parliament of the Polish Government-in-exile; once again he assumed leadership in the battle for Polish independence.

But efforts on behalf of his countrymen soon exhausted the final measure of his strength and he died in New York City on June 29, 1941.

Upon his death, Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles, speaking for President Franklin Roosevelt, expressed America's deep sorrow and profound respect. He said:

The spirit of Mr. Paderewski which illumined his whole life is by no means extinguished; the influence of his personality, character, and genius must persist. It will continue to inspire for many years to come those who are struggling for the highest ideals of humanity.

Today, when millions are captive behind the Iron Curtain, Paderewski's life is indeed an inspiration. It was a life guided by faith in the human spirit and devoted to the ideal of human freedom.

For 21 years Paderewski's body has remained in America, but he will return to Poland because the yearning of the Polish people for freedom and independence will endure. It will endure, it will persist, and it will triumph.

But for 21 years we have left his resting place unidentified. I have made numerous inquiries into the official explanations for this situation but none of the answers are satisfying. I have discussed it with the White House and I hope soon to have an official decision. A simple marker would remind the world of our temporary trust and would also be a tribute to the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, a spirit that has outlived tyrannies of the past, and a spirit that will outlive communism, the most modern of tyrannies.

#### TEXAS VIEW OF DISARMAMENT CONCESSIONS

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, I respectfully submit that the editorial entitled "Disarmament Concessions," published in the Dallas Morning News, August 8, 1962, fairly represents the point of view of the overwhelming majority of Texans.

The U.S. Government is preoccupied with disarmament. Under present world conditions, this is unrealistic and dangerous.

We have continually offered more and more concessions, and each "nyet" incites us to even greater offerings. As pointed out in this perceptive editorial:

Sooner or later, we will have reached that limit, and the Russian delegates will be directed to say "Da" instead of "Nyet." When that day arrives, maybe we will have learned our lesson. Unfortunately by that time it will be too late.

Mr. President, surely we and our contemporaries are living through a period of transition in the moral strength and willpower of the United States of America in her relations with foreign governments. At an earlier time in our history, while engaged in conflict with an avowed enemy, as we are with the Communists today, suggestion of disarmament concessions would have seemed ludicrous and treasonous.

Our Founding Fathers saw that the prerequisite of a free America was victory over England. Victory alone could

and did preserve the Union at the time of the War Between the States. Our determination to achieve victory carried us successfully through World War I and World War II.

But this decade, in the view of some, has seen the repeal of such logic. Although bold words have not been lacking, our actions have too often been halfhearted, defeatist, designed only to hold onto the status quo, to appease the hungry Russian bear, to retreat with dignity and good humor.

A few years ago we debated whether to stop Communist expansion by preventive war. Today the debate is between resistance and surrender.

I ask unanimous consent to place the editorial in the *RECORD* at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### DISARMAMENT CONCESSIONS

When the U.S. proposal for "general and complete disarmament" was offered last April at Geneva, many Americans felt their leaders in Washington were playing with fire because the proposal was not a plan for disarmament at all. It proposed the scrapping of our Armed Forces in favor of an international "peace force," and in the opinion of the News would have led toward world government and the surrender of American independence if it had been accepted.

Fortunately, it was not accepted; the Soviets vetoed the U.S. proposal. And this act seemed to convince many people that the proposal was all right. Without asking why the Soviets rejected the plan, they reasoned that if the Russians couldn't accept it, it must have been all right.

The Soviets, however, may have had different reasons for using their veto. It seems quite likely, for example, that they have learned that whenever they reject a U.S. disarmament proposal the United States will offer something better the next time around.

The Soviets are persistent. They have plenty of time. As long as they are winning the cold war—or as long as the United States refuses to try to win it—they can afford to hold out for the maximum gain.

It now seems fairly obvious that this is exactly what they were doing last April in Geneva, when they rejected the U.S. disarmament proposal out of hand.

Though the proposal went a long way toward meeting their demands, it did not meet all of them. They were probably fairly certain that by holding out for the limit, President Kennedy and his disarmament advisers would back down on the few remaining U.S. safeguards the next time they met.

This, of course, is what has happened. Last week, at a press conference, President Kennedy announced that the United States was willing to "compromise" on the disarmament issue by acceding to the demands of the eight "neutral" nations which have delegates at Geneva.

The President said that we are now willing to give up the demand for an international network of 180 seismic detection stations and to retreat on the number of onsite inspections within the Soviet Union.

Adequate inspection always has been demanded by the United States to insure against surprise attacks or secret testing of nuclear weapons by the Soviets—whose word we cannot accept on face value.

The United States traditionally has demanded at least 20 onsite inspections within the Soviet Union each year, and a network of seismic detection stations manned by repre-

sentatives from Soviet, Western, and neutral nations.

Not long ago the President said the number of onsite inspections could be limited to 12 to 20, and last week he merely used the word "some" without specifying a number. In addition he has almost completely conceded on the matter of seismic stations, offering to let the Soviets man their own stations and holding out only for some kind of international "monitoring" or "supervision" of these control posts.

The President's latest concessions are based on a new technique we are supposed to have acquired which will distinguish between underground nuclear explosions and earthquakes. This technique supposedly was discovered during our recent atomic tests in the Pacific.

But Representative CRAIG HOSMER, Republican of California, who is a ranking member of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, claims that we can by no means be certain of our ability to distinguish between earthquakes and atomic tests without closer detection stations or onsite inspections.

He has pointed out that the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency—which was reported to have made the claim—merely announced that we have made progress toward the identification and location of underground disturbances.

Yet, the President is using this questionable achievement as the basis for his newest round of concessions to the Soviets. But maybe we don't have to worry much about these concessions, for the Soviets have indicated they will reject them as well. They have seen how the veto of our disarmament proposal last April brought out a few more concessions, and they will no doubt hold out for the limit.

Sooner or later, we will have reached that limit, and the Russian delegates will be directed to say "Da" instead of "Nyet." When that day arrives, maybe we will have learned our lesson. Unfortunately by that time it will be too late.

#### WE NEED TO SPEAK UP

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, free speech is one of the hallmarks of our democratic society. In these days of complex problems and varied threats to our security and our way of life, it is extremely important that we are able to speak freely, as citizens, on the issues of our day.

Yet too often those who speak with the most vehemence on these issues are those who deny the complexity of our times, offer simple solutions to complex problems, and suggest that those who speak for different solutions are somehow less than patriotic and perhaps intentionally or unintentionally allied with our enemies. The effect of this attitude often is to silence moderates, thus leaving the arena to the discordant voices of extremism and thoughtless action.

The need for a greater participation by the calm voices of moderation is aptly presented in an editorial in the *Laramie Daily Boomerang*. This editorial appeared on August 8, 1962. I think it is an excellent statement of the problem, and I commend it to the Members of this body. I ask unanimous consent that this editorial be printed in the *RECORD*.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

#### WE NEED TO SPEAK UP

Now and again you hear it said that Americans, in high places and low, have become too timid to speak up for their convictions. It is even contended that some people simply have abandoned all conviction and exist in what they think is a safe no man's land.

To produce any sort of conclusive evidence would be almost impossible without exhaustive studies in this field. Most efforts to gage the general strength of people's convictions are fragmentary and of only partial value.

Obviously, extremists exhibit no lack of vocal conviction. Indeed, it is often the very force of their aggressive assaults that produces timidity in countless others of more moderate outlook.

Men fear if they speak up for what they see as reasonable positions in politics, business, education, or whatever, that they may endanger their jobs, their status in a community, the future of their children.

Whether there is actually more of such fear today than in earlier periods is the question. It may be so.

We live in a time marked by incredible complexity. Everything about us seems to exist in shades of gray. Yet man is a creature who likes certainty, a clear choice, a call to action he can understand.

Inevitably, then, many must rebel against the shades of gray. They meet this age by demanding the certainties they see slipping away from them.

They insist on these clear choices not only for themselves but for everybody else. Thus arises the "you are either with us or against us" approach that characterizes a good deal of our public debate on major issues.

If black-and-white attitudes are expressed with great frequency and vigor, then many of those who would normally prefer to take a more complex, more flexible stand may fear to speak out. They conclude that their views may be labeled fuzzy, or soft, or defeatist.

Some people, of course, have views which deserve such labels. But many others simply are trying desperately to put themselves in tune with these very tangled issues that confront us on a mounting scale.

If it is true that too many of such voices are being silenced by fear, the loss to the Nation and perhaps the world is thoroughly clear.

Aware of man's long quest for certainty, we cannot expect human beings today to adjust quickly to an era whose hallmark seems the very opposite.

Yet the great weight of evidence suggests that complexity is here to stay. The sooner we learn to live with it, the more likely is it that men who hold views befitting that complexity will feel generally free to speak their convictions.

#### FACETS OF RUSSIAN DAILY LIFE

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, Arizona has produced talented men and women during its history, and now she can lay claim to one of the finest contemporary writers. I speak of Mr. Don Dederer, columnist for the *Arizona Republic* in Phoenix who writes with wit and insight on the life and times of Arizona. Recently he and his wife, Nancy, toured Russia. His 12-part series recounted all facets of Russian daily life—from State weddings, State farms, sloppy construction, to so-called religious free-



dom and Soviet bureaucracy. This series is of such timeliness and value that I ask unanimous consent that the articles by Mr. Dederer be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Arizona Republic, July 15, 1962]

**SOVIET PASSION TO BE FIRST COMES OUT  
EARLY IN JOURNEY  
(By Don Dederer)**

EN ROUTE BY TRAIN TO LENINGRAD.—Whistling and steaming like a storybook character, the 11 o'clock train huffed out of Helsinki. Destination, reality: Leningrad, Russia, Soviet Union.

We had boarded with anxieties not at all soothed by our hotel clerk at Helsinki.

"Yes, you should go to Russia," he had said. "You will learn how much you don't know. Leave behind your convictions. Trust only your own eyes. Don't drink the water."

And then he gravely cautioned: "Be curious but be careful."

It was a heck of a thing to say to a naive couple from the Arizona desert whose only outstanding foreign experience had been a gay evening in Nogales, Mexico. Our impulse was to fly straight back to Phoenix. But there we knew we'd have to face an editor and a publisher.

"Go to Russia" they had said. "Choose your own itinerary. Write what you see. Bear in mind that the history of Russia does not begin with your arrival nor end with your departure."

"Poke your nose into anything that interests you. But stay out of trouble—and by the way don't drink the water."

**BROCHURE, REALITY FAR APART**

So we were edgy about the size of our assignment. And, too, we were exhausted by 5 months of negotiating with the Soviets.

In contrast to the hospitable brochure and magazine literature exported to America, the official Soviet travel agency, Intourist, can be cold and arbitrary. Without explanation, our proposed journey to some small Soviet cities were denied.

"Many people ask if they may come to the Soviet Union in their own cars," stated the April issue of U.S.S.R. magazine. "Yes, of course, they may."

But April 1 car travel by tourists was banned. Our request to drive 1,000 miles by rented car brought a firm "Nyet."

Twice our tour was delayed, without so much as a word of regret from the Soviets in Moscow and Washington.

I think my wife, Nancy, had the toughest chore. Besides the normal preparations for foreign travel, she had to learn of the little things required for hotel housekeeping behind the Iron Curtain: drip-dry clothing, cold-water soap, paper products. And a sink stopper. Everybody carries his own sink stopper in the land of communism.

Meanwhile, I had tried to recover some college Russian. At odd hours, our home trembled with explosive conjugations erupting from the record player. By the departure day, my Russian was a necklace of 1,000 nouns and a few verbs: all beads and no strings.

Two days before departure, our Soviet visas were approved. And then in barely a week, we were in Helsinki, on the train to the East. With our nouns, with our bottles of mineral water, with our sink stopper; in dull, green car No. 12, bearing a bold, gold emblem of the hammer and sickle.

**TRAVEL FACILITIES FIRST-CLASS**

Our compartment was comfortable and clean. The seats were covered with fresh

white linen, and the decorations were in shades of green and gilt and anodized aluminum. There were pillows and blankets, fan, air conditioning, rayon curtains and radio.

These cars used for international routes are the best money can buy, and later we were told that is how the Soviets obtained the cars, by purchase from a Western nation.

"Chai?" the porter asked.

"Da, spasibo," I answered, and continued in Russian, "I speak Russian."

"Very badly," grinned the porter.

But he brought the tea anyway, and some biscuits that tasted like animal crackers.

I struck up a halting conversation with our porter, a lanky, dour Russian dressed in a checkered shirt, green tie, plaid vest and royal blue trousers. When I displayed my family photographs, he countered with pictures of his own multitude.

"This is my fine camera, and my fine light meter," said I.

He courteously appraised the items, then took me by the arm and led me to the other end of the car.

"This is my fine samovar, where I make the tea," he said. "This is my room and this is the control panel for the dynamo which makes the electricity for the lights and the radio and electric shaver."

It was my introduction to a national characteristic. Not even the Russian porters are modest. In this regard, Russians are exactly like Americans.

"This is my fine cigarette lighter," I went on. "It was given to me by the Santa Fe Railroad, and when you operate the lighter, it has a music box that plays 'The Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe.' That is a fine railroad in America."

"I never heard of it," said my friend. "Do you want to play a game of chess?"

He had me there.

"I haven't played in years," I responded.

Soviet honor was safe, and the porter was agrin. Such incidents were to occur throughout our journey, from the cities to the provinces, among the ruling classes and the common people. To be first is a Soviet passion.

The train rolled through a land of pines and firs, pastures sprinkled with dandelions and lakes bordered by birches. At Vainikkala, Finnish inspectors checked currency. Our cars were hitched to businesslike Soviet diesels. The Finns saluted, and we moved again under Soviet control.

**SOLDIERS, SOLDIERS, SOLDIERS**

The border, after so much anticipation, was a letdown. Plain posts straddled the rails. A farm fence wandered out to tidy forests, following, I guessed, the boundary line. There was a brief stop for a Russian soldier to search the train for hitchhikers.

For the next 5 miles soldiers were everywhere: guarding watchtowers, swimming in the lakes, hanging laundry, loading trucks, laboring on roads.

Then, at Viborg, the Soviet inspectors boarded the train. A fat, motherly woman doctor scrutinized our smallpox vaccination certificates. A Russian officer in a frayed tunic, still elegant with epaulettes and minor medals, stamped our passports. He was young and handsome, smiling and courtly.

Next in our compartment was a portly civilian in a white cotton suit. He handed us forms for the declaration of all dollars, checks, watches, rings and valuables, and affidavits that we were not smuggling in guns and other undesirable objects.

The questionnaires were long and tedious. We finished, at last, and the inspector did not so much as ask to look inside our luggage. He studied our declarations, put them away, and leaned close.

"And now," he said, "I have two special questions. First, do you have a suit for sale?"

"Well, uh, no," I sputtered. "On the plane I could bring only what I needed."

"I understand," he said. "Now. Do you have a Bible in the Russian language?"

Again I said, "No," and without comment the official rose.

"So. Goodby and good luck."

We never knew if he was trying to buy a suit and a Bible, or just testing us. But we went on to Leningrad with greater confidence, in a country that could want or fear such common Western commodities.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 16, 1962]

**HIS CAMERA GETS DON INTO TROUBLE  
(By Don Dederer)**

LENINGRAD.—My two pious pledges, to stay out of politics and to keep out of trouble, didn't last a day in the Soviet Union.

For taking an unrepresentative photograph, I was detained and lectured. And before the long summer day ended, I had talked more politics than I would in a month at home.

The day began with hope, and a breakfast of good cheese and sausage and black bread, and coffee that tasted like the Neva at flood-stage. I strolled from the hotel toward a downtown newsstand, and absorbed the Leningrad scenes so strange to an American eye:

Broad avenues, 11 lanes wide, but few cars, nearly all taxicabs, and everyone speeding. The teeming sidewalks. Buildings and monuments of faded prerevolutionary fanciness. Women in babushkas and jackets sweeping the gutters with twig brooms. And no children. Where are the children, I wondered?

"Do you have a copy of today's Arizona Republic?" I asked the woman newsdealer. Russian phrases filled her little glass cage, and tumbled out of the window.

"Perhaps a New York Times or a Manchester Guardian or even a Brewery Gulch Gazette?"

More spicy Russian. The woman thrust three English-language papers toward me. They are the only ones for sale here, or anywhere, in the Soviet Union. The Daily Worker of London, the Worker of New York, and the Moscow News, a weekly rewrite of the Soviet press for tourist consumption.

And so I read about Western war mongery, Los Angeles juvenile delinquency, the inevitable collapse of Wall Street, Midwest unemployment, and American atomic crimes until it was time to meet our first Intourist guide.

**GUIDE THOROUGHLY TRAINED**

Like every Intourist guide we were to meet or hear about, Nina was admirably mannered and thoroughly trained. She was 36, had red hair suggesting a tint, and was made up with pink lipstick and mascara. She had made her own clothes of Western style.

"Where can I buy an American newspaper?" I asked.

"They may be seen in the state library," she said. "In the people's democracies it is believed that the captive capitalistic press should not be allowed to circulate."

Nina showed us Leningrad with a narration of touching, genuine sentiment. When the city was besieged by Hitler for 500 days, Nina was in her middle teens. Three hundred thousand citizens of Leningrad starved, she said, and the memory of those times shades a lot of things. Truly the City of Orphans does not want another war, said Nina. Her own husband was wounded three times as a boy fighting for the city. She could not understand why the United States wished for war.

I could bite my tongue no longer.

"Without a free press, how do you know what America wants? How can you make your own opinions count in a country where there are no elections?"

"We do have elections," she said. "They are formalities, but before the voting the people nominate the candidates, by neighborhood meetings and meetings at factories. All differences are worked out in advance. The system is much more liberal since the death of Stalin."

I asked, "Can a citizen complain about his government?"

"Yes," she said, "of course."

"Change his job?"

"If he gives notice, and is not badly needed."

"Get a letter published in Pravda?"

"Yes."

"Petition and sue the government?"

"In a sense."

"Start an opposition political party?"

"No counterrevolutionary movements are allowed."

#### NO STRIKE SINCE REVOLUTION

"Strike for higher pay?"

"No. There has not been a strike since the revolution." Of this she seemed quite proud. Mind you, the debate was continuing in the most friendly fashion. Nina said:

"As our leaders were meeting to talk peace, you sent your spy, Powers, with gold watches to buy our secrets. That was very bad news in Leningrad."

So I asked her: "What was Leningrad's reaction to the release of Gary Powers?"

"Is he released?" asked Nina.

"Yes, he was exchanged months ago in Germany for your spy Col. Rudolph Abel." Pravda, which means truth, at a cost of 6 rubles a year, is delivered daily by a little boy member of Lenin's Sparks to Nina's apartment door. But she never read about Abel.

My own arrest, if that is what it was, occurred in Leningrad's largest downtown department store. At Nina's invitation and blessing, I went to snap a few, natural-light indoor scenes. I was surprised at the variety of consumer goods, and shocked by the high prices. No wonder the customs agent wondered about suits. The cheapest in Russia is \$150.

A saleswoman fluffed her hair for me, and smilingly posed with dress patterns. But the light was dim, and I was drawn to the brighter second floor arcade that encircles the store. For no sinister reason, a gathering at a children's clothing counter attracted me.

"What are you doing?" a man said softly, in Russian, behind me.

"Photograph. I am an American tourist. Do you speak English?"

"I don't want to speak in English. Come with me."

The man was a dead ringer for Boston Blackie. Dark clothes. Cigarette with long paper filter. Trench coat. A professional manner. Thirty years old.

I followed him to the store administrator's office where he rattled Russian so fast to a becoming brunette, she blinked at every comma. Then she translated.

"Please," she said. "It is important that you do not understand. This man is simply a citizen of Leningrad, and he wonders what you are doing."

#### CONFUSION IS OUR BUSINESS

"I had been invited to take pictures by my guide, who said the store encourages this practice by American tourists. Americans are very curious about your stores."

More fast Russian. More translation.

"You are welcome. But this citizen of Leningrad wishes to point out to you that the interior of our store is much better organized than the arcade. The arcade is not representative."

"Truly I had not noticed any difference, and I had meant no wrong."

An exchange in Russian.

"Please sit down," said the brunette. I sat. "We would like you to take pictures inside. You do not have to ask permission."

"If it's all the same to you folks, I've lost my desire for pictures. Inside or outside."

We went over it all again, three or four more times, and then they bade me rise. I smiled at the girl and shook Boston Blackie's hand, and I was free to walk back to the hotel.

Nearly every American visitor to Russia has such a first day. I learned later. It is the flash of ideological collision, the fire of pride, the heat of righteousness.

Once again I resolved, no politics, no trouble.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 17, 1962]

WEDDING OF ALEXANDRA AND SERGEI PROVIDES INSIGHT TO SOVIET PEOPLE, COMMUNIST SYSTEM

(By Don Dederer)

LENINGRAD.—At the wedding of Alexandra and Sergei, we sensed our first insight into the Soviet people, and the Communist system.

For 3 days we had wished for such a contact. But our pretty guide, Nina, kept us running on the tourist trails. Unless told the contrary, Russian guides believe that American tourists are interested only in museums and art galleries, and projects of the people's revolution.

We passively followed Nina to the Hermitage and its 35 Rembrandts, to the cruiser *Aurora*, to the first log cabin and last ornate gardens of Peter the Great.

And between statues and fountains, we snapped judgments of the Russian people:

Women work at everything. We saw them tarring roads, breaking concrete with jackhammers, laying bricks, driving buses, mixing concrete. Because of World War II casualties, there are 20 million more women than men in the Soviet Union. Even the Russian mailmen are women.

Russian drivers are as mad as Ivan the Terrible. They have a disquieting habit of accelerating to full speed, turning off the ignition, and coasting to a crawl. They think it saves fuel. Cars have the right-of-way when turning right into pedestrian lanes, but drivers may be fined for running over pigeons.

Pedestrians are crazier than drivers. Their pace is a steady 5 miles per hour. They surge across the intersections with no regard to signals, grudgingly parting for hurtling taxis.

#### RARELY LAUGH, EVEN AT OWN JOKES

Russians seldom smile, rarely laugh.

"Have you heard of our new spaceship?" a Russian will tell you. "It carries a man and a woman. They could not find an apartment in Leningrad."

A Russian will tell you this joke, but he will not laugh.

Russians ride up elevators, but they walk down the stairs.

They adore bigness. Big parks. Big buildings. Big signs. Perhaps it's only natural for the people of the world's largest country, so big its citizens speak 60 languages.

They line up as automatically as geese. The Russian man stands in line for his newspaper; the Russian woman for strawberries and baby socks. An American resident told us he was once on a crowded bus, when suddenly everybody stepped off to run to a long line.

"What's for sale?" yelled the American.

"I don't know," shouted back a sprinting Russian. "But for such a long line, it must be good."

Everybody reads. The cabdriver has a novel open on the seat. Between floors, the

elevator operator snatches paragraphs from a war story. The coat checker at the Kirov Ballet is reading Hemingway. Seemingly every business block has a bookstore, and supplementary open-air stands on the curbs and corners.

Drinking is lusty, drunks plentiful. Russians quaff champagne for breakfast, vodka for lunch, and red wine through the night. The Government economic prohibition (vodka is \$4.50 per half liter) has created the "bottle buddy."

#### MARK SHARES WITH PENCIL

He is a man with 1 ruble, and a thirst. At the state liquor store he waits for three other thirsty men who also have single rubles. They go together to buy a bottle, gage it with pencil lines, and gulp their shares.

Few pregnant women are seen. Maternity clothing is expensive. Mothers-to-be simply stay home.

Men kiss freely on the mouth, and burly soldiers walk hand in hand. These are pure expressions of brotherhood.

American girlwatchers are disappointed in Russia. Soviet men like them fat. And Russian girls have hairy legs.

Russians are constantly eating on the streets. The far-and-away favorite is ice cream. Batteries of coin machines dispense everything from snacks to kvass, a tart brew of fermented bread.

Manners are paradoxical. A polite Russian will not whistle, will not wear an overcoat into a building, will not put his hands in his trousers pockets, will not cross his legs while seated, will not scatter litter.

But the same Russian will elbow his way through a crowd, spit in the street, slurp his soup, and go to the opera house in his shirtsleeves.

Our oblique views of the Russian people finally became so obsessive, I said to Nina: "We have seen enough museums. We want to see more of Russian life."

"Well, why didn't you say so?" Nina rebuked us. "Would you like to go to a wedding?"

And so we were invited to the ceremony uniting Alexandra, a salesgirl, and Sergei, a factory worker.

Until recently, they would have become married simply by registering at the same office where divorces and deaths are recorded. In an attempt to make marriages more lasting, Khrushchev decreed that every city should have a wedding palace to be used for no other ceremonies.

In Leningrad, the wedding palace is a restored home of a czarist nobleman, across the Neva from the Academy of Arts. As we entered we were dazzled by marble stairs and plaster statues.

There is a long waiting list for the wedding palace. Officially, a couple must wait 7 days after registering, and with a rate of 200 weddings a week, the wedding palace cannot keep pace with demand. Alexandra and Sergei were delayed 3 weeks, and their wedding day and hour was set by the state.

From the ground floor, where wedding parties wait their turns, we climbed the white stairs. The second story is arranged for efficiency. First are rooms with gold rings (\$22 apiece) and small gifts the friends and family may buy.

In the largest room a wedding was in progress. In another room, around a table of showcase setting, still another wedding party was toasting with champagne.

#### MARRIAGES ON ASSEMBLY LINES

We joined Alexandra and Sergei in an anteroom. In their late teens, both were short and slim, handsome and beautiful, nervous as wedding couples the world over. Sergei wore a suit, and Alexandra a stylish ballerina dress of white crepe, and no hat or veil. With an authorization from the marriage bureau, they had been allowed to shop



at the Leningrad Marriage Store of quality goods.

Abruptly, the champagne drinkers put down their glasses and went down the white staircase.

Another newlywed couple emerged from the wedding room, and headed for the champagne table.

We, the wedding party of Alexandra and Sergei, seated ourselves in the wedding room. The long rectangle was scalloped in white and hung with gilt. Deputies, a man and a woman, were seated behind a long table, behind which was a frowning, massive statue of Lenin.

The couple stood on a small oriental rug. The woman spoke briefly, asking if Alexandra and Sergei appreciated the importance of their act, to themselves and to their state. Both nodded. The man deputy, beardless in a boxy gray suit, walked out to stand before the couple. He congratulated them, and shook their hands.

The ceremony, which took no more than 5 minutes, was over. Along with relatives and a few friends, we crowded around the newlyweds.

They seemed honored that American tourists would come to their wedding. I shook Sergei's hand, and before he could kiss me, I blushingly bussed his bride. Our guide, Nina, and my wife, Nancy, sobbed happily.

It was a noble moment, but brief. The champagne was chilling, and out in the foyer, another couple was waiting.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 18, 1962]

PROPAGANDA—EVERYWHERE PROPAGANDA

(By Don Deder)

KIEV.—Americans with doubts about the intensity of the cold war, as waged within the Soviet Union, are invited to the Drushba Theater on Kreshchatic Street, the main thoroughfare of Kiev.

"Drushba" means "friendship." Current at the Drushba the day we arrived was the eye-catching title, "Behind the Ramparts of America." It was, to us, a new concept in geography.

What are the Soviet people told about America? Through what windows are Soviet citizens allowed to peek at the country we ourselves criticize freely, but love as the land of opportunity and liberty?

"Behind the Ramparts of America" was the most popular show in town. Nancy and I asked for tickets a half day ahead of curtain time. Even so, we were lucky to get seats. We and 200 Ukrainians filled the modern Drushba to capacity.

The lights faded. A color cartoon leaped to the screen. An American woman tourist, aglow with makeup, haughty in furs, strutted down a Soviet street. Behind her loped her henpecked husband in porkpie and trenchcoat, carrying a camera and a baby.

Light laughter rippled over the Drushba audience. We also were amused but abashed at the moral of the caricature. The couple looked like Jiggs and Maggie, and their baby grew up to be Marilyn Monroe, chomping gum, gulping martinis, and dancing the twist.

Oh, well. The next cartoon was more complicated. An American boss, a man with a gray complexion and a huge desk and a laprobe, sent one of his robot workers to the U.S.S.R. to obtain propaganda material for American TV.

But the American lackey was foiled by Soviet splendor. Every time he saw what he took to be a fault, he was knocked down by a busy Russian crane, or buried by Khazak gang plows. We thought the cartoon was quaintly nationalistic, and uproarious.

NOTHING FUNNY ABOUT MOVIE

But then the main feature began, and there was nothing funny in it.

The movie was a travelogue of a troupe of young Russian folk dancers who toured the United States some months ago. As they

had been enthusiastically cheered and entertained by Americans, the Soviet cameraman had recorded every flaw, every injustice, every ugliness in sight.

In Washington, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Denver and Los Angeles, the cameraman photographed:

Crazy quilts of neon, swaggering cops with guns, decrepit produce stands, slums, striking workers, every woman and girl in capri pants and sunglasses, going-out-of-business signs, pedestrian accidents, war statues.

Unemployed languishing in filthy parks. War headlines. Extreme TV commercials. Parades of soldiers, parades of high school girls, parades of Boy Scouts, all speeded up by the camera, and marching to dubbed-in jazz.

In Washington, Bob Kennedy with his feet on his desk, Philadelphia, a crack in the Liberty Bell. Boston, dilapidated tenements near the harbor of the Tea Party. Chicago, sex and crime, with scenes taken as fact from "The Roaring Twenties." Los Angeles, choked freeways. Denver, the rich people in tuxedos. In New York, every Negro deprived of food and labor and dignity.

"Behind the Ramparts of America" was a full-blown masterpiece of the Soviet propaganda czars. The travelogue followed the clean-cut, wholesome, Communist dancers through the depraved centers of capitalism.

Everything bad about America was magnified; the little good was done in double time, to rock 'n' roll, to sarcastic narration. Later from memory I was able to jot down 50 gross exaggerations, the worst of which was picturing a little boy, at his soldier father's grave, as a warmonger.

Our cars, finny and tinny; theirs sturdy and functional. Our roads, running with blood; theirs clear and clean. Our apartments, with rickety fire escapes; theirs, with cheerful balconies.

Then, when the last montage of apple-checked Russian folk dancers flickered out, we all stood up and blinked and walked out of the Drushba.

NOWHERE A RELAXING OF CONTROL

Some experts on Soviet psychology have laid the popularity of such films to rampant curiosity about anything, however perverted, in America. They say that Soviet citizens are smart enough to see behind the distortions, and secretly want to be what we are.

I wish these experts would have walked with us from the Drushba down a hundred steps to the street. Two unmistakable Americans in the midst of that chill, home-bound theater crowd could have used company.

How can such a thing be discounted? By what miracle are Soviet citizens to obtain a rebuttal?

Their radio is an extension of the state. All but musical broadcasts from the West are jammed. Programming throughout the Soviet Union is dictated by Radio Moscow.

TV, too, is a primary governmental tool. I watched one drama. Igor loved Yekatarina who loved Boris who loved Mila who loved her job in the tractor factory. The commercials (as often as every 15 minutes) plug products and services the state wishes to push. "Drink fruit juices and feel better," goes one, and another, "Next time take the taxi, and economize time."

Books and periodicals are altogether controlled by the Government, and the leading newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, make no pretense to be other than organs of state and party.

"The revolution makes its own morals," Lenin said. "That which is good for communism is good; that which is bad for communism is bad."

We looked hard, in our trip through Russia, for some relaxation of that maxim.

At Kharkov, for example, we went to the Gagarin Planetarium sincerely craving a

fresh breath of science, unperfumed by politics.

But along with re-creations of the sunrise and constellations, we were shown a movie "Vostok II," the flight of Titov. He was born in a log house, of ideal parents, and studied hard. He can recite Pushkin and is as handsome as Alan Ladd, and his wife is lovely.

To this point Soviet propaganda went no further than the American assessment of Col. John Glenn, but "Vostok II" concluded with an emotional political sales talk by Titov by quote and narration.

"Why were the launching and landing of Vostok II faked with models on the film?" I asked our planetarium guide.

"We offered to share our space secrets with you," he said, "but you refused."

I said, "Hundreds of newsmen the world over were invited to our astronaut launchings and landings."

NOTHING IN RUSSIA NONPOLITICAL

He turned away, and I began to realize the wisdom of an American medical student I had met in Leningrad. He had said:

"There is nothing nonpolitical here, and anyone who believes he can accommodate with a devoted Communist is a fool. At home I am a lot less black-and-white about my opinions. Here I turn off my brains and argue as arbitrarily as they do."

Next day, after the Drushba show, we met our new Intourist guide for Kiev. Nelja was dark, thirtyish and friendly.

"And what do you wish to see?"

"Your slums," I said, "your juvenile delinquents, your war monuments, the broken statues of Stalin, your pedestrian accidents, your criminals."

But instead we went to a children's camp, and to some palatial metro stations, the pride of Kiev.

The problem, of course, is how an open society can compete in propaganda with a closed one. And anyone who wonders what the struggle is all about is invited to the Friendship Theater, admission 50 kopecks.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 19, 1962]

SOVIET WORKMANSHIP APPALLINGLY SLIPSHOD

(By Don Deder)

KIEV.—During the hours we spent at the Moskva Hotel in Kiev, I couldn't stop thinking about Fred Klotz, of Phoenix.

Fred is a master bricklayer and stonemason. He emigrated to the United States from Germany when he was 18. He has worked hard all his life, and now Fred and his sainted wife have erected a building of four modest and immaculate apartments just north of the Phoenix Country Club.

Once when we were guests of the Klotzes, Fred came home at noon from his job on a big store building.

"Are you sick?" I asked.

"No," said Fred. "They wanted me to fill a wall by throwing the bricks into it five at a time, and I walked off. I need the money, but when I lay a brick, I told them, by God I lay a brick."

And so as I inspected our quarters in Kiev, I tried to imagine the salty Germanic oaths that would fall from Fred Klotz' mouth.

BRICKWORK OUTRAGEOUS

The Moskva has been finished 2 months. From a distance the Moskva is of appealing scale and design. Up close:

Of a battery of glass front doors, only one works.

The two 8-person-capacity elevators are loaded with as many as 14 passengers.

Woodwork paint is falling off in sheets. Wall paint rubs off on clothing.

The doors to our balcony were of unseasoned soft wood, which had warped and swollen, freezing in the jams.

The clothing rack was coming apart at the joints.

Parquet floors were loose, splintered, and squeaky.

All plumbing pipes were exposed, their holes in partitions unpatched.

Wall switches, set 7 feet high in the plaster were wearing out.

Baseboards had sprung away from walls. And my list goes on with leaking roofs and grimy windows and crooked fixtures. But if anything would send Fred Klotz to summits of outrage, it would be the brick-work.

The blocks stagger from grass to the 16th floor like casual dominoes. About a quarter of the joints are unfilled with mortar, and the entire building is splattered with mortar stains.

"If you want to know the age of a Soviet building," we concluded, "you've got to ask."

Nearly all Americans we talked to in the U.S.S.R. were astonished and saddened by the incredible shoddiness of construction. Much of European Russia was pulverized by the Nazis. Only in sacrifice of luxury and some necessities did the Soviet people find the wherewithal to rebuild.

"But the emphasis is on quantity, not quality," an American student told us in Kiev. "To complete is the whole goal."

Others blamed women laborers, saying that hard as they may try, they cannot become construction artisans. Others saw the error in Moscow, where decisions and programing had to filter through a baffling bureaucracy.

We talked to people critical of materials and fixtures. They said Russia, which launched sputnik, can't produce a workable beer bottle opener.

#### APARTMENT POORLY BUILT

But from all we could see, the Soviets can conceive and carry through engineering and construction marvels. After the Germans left the last time, Kiev's main street was a footpath between slopes of rubble, and now it is nearly all put back taller, if not stronger, than before.

The metro stations are models of public transportation. Lines are being extended in Leningrad and Kiev, and in the famous Moscow network. Trains run as frequently as every 200 seconds. The fare is 5 cents. Soviets are told that in 10 years there will be no fare at all.

Atop the hydroelectric dam on the Volga near Volgograd, a proud guide will boast that the 21 generators outproduce our Hoover Dam and Grand Coulee, and that in Siberia a dam is being built with an electric output capacity of 10 million kilowatts. Soviets brag of the Volga-Don Canal that links 1,000 miles of inland waterways, of the atomic icebreaker *Lenin* that has run 2 years without refueling, of the development of an industrial complex from a nation that could produce only 10 trucks in 1924.

They further are ecstatic about their opening of vast virgin lands, of the building of four atomic power stations, of what they claim is the largest oil reserve in the world under the Caspian Sea, of their pioneering in passenger jets.

In the last 5 years, goes the official announcement, 50 million Soviet citizens have been given new apartments. By 1970, "the housing problem will be solved."

We visited one of these new apartments in Kiev.

This was not a distorted example chosen by us, but the biggest, best equipped model apartment on display at the Exhibition of Advanced Experience in Agriculture and Industry of the Ukrainian Republic, near Kiev.

The apartment, which all Soviet families are assured of having by 1970, consists of a living room 9 by 13 feet, a three-quarter bath with no tile or cabinets, one tiny bedroom, a hall, and a kitchen with a two-burner stove, an 18-inch square sink and 5-cubic-foot refrigerator (one ice cube tray).

The place was decorated in good taste, and the furniture was solid and comfortable.

But here again we were shocked at the poor construction, the distance between poster dream and finished product. If anywhere, we expected good buildings at the Exhibition of Advanced Experience, etc. Yet floors were warping, walls sagging, paint peeling, steps tilting.

Anyone who has had his hands in mortar must, finally, look for a deeper significance in the careless workmanship.

#### SHODDINESS FORM OF PROTEST?

All of it cannot be attributed to bureaucratic befuddlement, and all of it cannot be the dabbings of dilatory womenfolk. It is true that western Russia was scorched by war, but it also is true that it takes little more time to build right than to build wrong. To me, the fault was not in the materials, either.

I looked around our room in the Hotel Moskva once more:

The sponge rubber lining falling out of the window frames.

The splatters of paint on every bathroom fixture.

The chattering plumbing running red with rust.

The matrix missing from the bathroom tiles.

The painted-over light switches.

The door cut on a bias.

And I went outside and looked at the brickwork again. It is an expression of people who don't know how, or don't care, or have no pride or hope. It is almost . . . intentional. Could it be a form of quiet resistance?

Whatever the cause, the Moskva Hotel in Kiev is a doubtful monument to the regime that has no patience with the Fred Klotzes of the world.

Fred would have come home swearing, the first day, before noon.

"When I lay a brick, by God, I lay a brick."

[From the Arizona Republic, July 20, 1962]

#### CHURCH, CHURCHGOER FARE BUT POORLY UNDER "RELIGIOUS FREEDOM" OF SOVIET

(By Don Dederer)

KIEV.—"Yes, there is religious freedom behind the Iron Curtain," a father whispered to me in extraordinary confidence.

"We go to church. My daughter goes to church. She also has a great talent with the piano, and she wants to go to music school, but those who approve the admissions to the music school have told her she cannot go to music school if she goes to church.

"So she has the freedom of choice.

"School or church."

Furtively as was the information given, it is hardly different from the public Communist attitude toward religion. I could rely on our bright-eyed Kiev guide, Nelja, to state the party line in simple terms:

"Religion is disappearing in the Soviet Union.

"Before the revolution the Orthodox Church was all-powerful, and in league with the czars. Religion was taught in the schools. The church never experienced a reformation.

"After the revolution it was necessary to act against the church and to discourage churchgoing. But now the people are realizing there is no God. Now we can say, let all who desire to go to church, go. But you see, there are very few. They are old. They were born before the revolution."

#### GUIDE PARROTS PROPAGANDA LINE

"I do not believe in God. Do you believe there is an old man who sits up in the sky?"

"Uh, well," I mumbled.

"Excuse me," she smiled tolerantly, "I think it is an old superstition. Could there be a heaven, for everybody, for every-

body who ever lived? If there were a God, would he allow suffering on earth?"

"We have sent our cosmonauts to heaven, and they have seen no God."

Almost word for word, Communists repeated the explanation to us, in Leningrad, in Moscow, in Volgograd, in Kharkov. In Leningrad there are today 15 Orthodox churches, 1 mosque, 1 Catholic church, 1 synagogue, 1 Baptist church. In Kharkov, second city of the Ukraine, are five Orthodox churches. In the new city of Volzhskiy, no church for 75,000.

Volgograd, a city of more than half a million, has one church. Our guide, Edward said:

"Some day there will be no church here. There will be no churches anywhere. Man is the dominant being. Look at his accomplishments. He is extending life. He is exploring space. He is creating a dog with two heads. Yes, someday he will make a tree."

They contrive no secret of it. Indeed, today the Soviet Government is restoring some churches and preserving others as museums. Apparently the Communists believe their work is so effective the people can resist exposure to confiscated houses of worship.

Barney Choseed, cultural exchange student at Ukrainian State University, himself an American of Jewish parentage, told us of the methods of promoting atheism:

#### PENTECOSTAL CHURCH CLOSED

"The young are under terrific social pressure not to go to church. Letters appear in the newspapers chiding churchgoers and vilifying the church. Komsomol (Young Communist Society) members lecture young people seen attending services, and the Komsomols excessively boast of their own godlessness. A young churchgoer has little chance for school and career.

"But I am convinced, after 6 months here, that no person today in the Soviet Union is deprived the right to worship, if he is willing to make all the sacrifices socially and economically."

Antireligion propaganda does continue. In Moscow an entire museum is devoted to the alleged crimes and depravities of the clergy before 1917. A Pentecostal church in the Urals was closed, said Radio Moscow, for having "a character hostile to humanity." The congregation was denigrated for drinking wine from a single vessel, an act "dangerous to health." (Every Moscow hotel lobby has a carafe of water, which atheists and believers alike drink from a common glass.)

Khrushchev, at the Communist Party's 22d Congress, called for an unrelenting struggle against religion. The party especially called for stronger propaganda against the Baptists, and keen surveillance of the Seventh-day Adventists, considered outright enemies of the state.

In Riga, Latvia, according to the Baptist World Alliance, a 500-member congregation was evicted to make room for a television station that would use the steeple as a broadcasting tower.

A Government newspaper states:

"Islam exists as a vestige of the past, the remnant of an exploiting society, and this vestige does great harm to the Soviet people."

The magazine, *The Militant Atheist*, denounces Judaism for exploiting classes and promoting Zionism, which is in allegiance with American imperialism.

And so it goes.

In Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, one Saturday night I had a few hours. I had heard that this once great center of Judaism, and present home of thousands of Jews, had but one synagogue.

"Synagogue," I told the taxi driver.

"Synagogue?" He craned his neck over the seat.

"Do you not know where is the synagogue?" I asked in my schoolboy Russian.



"No," said the driver. "But I will learn."

After getting general bearings, we plummeted down the Dnieper cliffs to the old solum town by the river. Four times the driver stopped to ask questions. Two citizens could not, or would not, give help. At length we arrived at the old temple, faded blue and white, on a shaded side street. A fence gate was ajar, and I entered a bare courtyard where six ancients sat on a bench. "I speak English and a little Russian," I said. "I am an American, and I want to see your synagogue."

The old men shook their heads and spoke swiftly and together in a tongue strange to me. I thought I was unwanted, and I turned to go.

#### SYNAGOGUE SHOWS DEFEAT SIGNS

One of the men took my arm and patted my head. Wait, he gestured. He fetched a black skullcap from the synagogue, and now that I was properly attired, he urged me inside and grandly offered a seat at the rear.

Thirty-nine men were in the synagogue, at this, the evening meeting. A rabbi spoke with great animation, and the men, some seated on benches and some on chairs, responded with nods and soft words. Not one of the men, I guessed, was younger than 60.

Of course, I couldn't understand a word. But the need of the synagogue was obvious. The furniture was in bad repair, windows out, the fixtures in disrepair.

After a decent interval, I went away from there, back to my room where I had a copy of U.S.S.R. magazine, distributed in the United States.

"According to Soviet law," I read, and re-read, "religion is a private affair. We therefore collect no statistics on the subject nor can we make any inferences except for this one, obvious to anyone who visits a church, synagogue, or mosque, it is mostly the elderly people who attend places of worship."

[From the Arizona Republic, July 22, 1962]

#### MOLDING OF YOUNG MINDS EASY; SOVIET LEADERS START EARLY

(By Don Dederer)

KHARKOV.—"We thank our nation for our happy childhood," was the direct translation of a red sign over an outdoor stage of a kindergarten near the industrial center of Kharkov.

It was the most disturbing sight of our Soviet trip.

A few years ago the same sign read:

"We thank Stalin for our happy childhood."

Next year there may be another name for the sign.

But without question, the sign will be changed, and the moppets of the Soviet Union will live on in gratitude toward whatever symbol is representing the Communist Party.

As parents of a 6-year-old girl we were beginning to miss greatly, we were delighted when our Intourist guide suggested that we visit the kindergarten.

This was, then, a trip selected for us by persons devoted to communism. We did not show up unexpectedly. Everything was revealed quite freely.

The kindergarten, for children of the workers of the Kharkov tractor plant, was opened under a program adopted by the ministry of education. The director is an altogether pleasant grandmother named Fera Moyceybia.

Because of near-total employment of men, and 85 percent employment of women in the Soviet Union, she explained, the state must assume a great responsibility in caring for the young.

"We begin educating our children as soon as they are able to learn," said Fera.

The 300 children of the kindergarten are boarded during the week, and some go home for Sundays.

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"Our program gives proper rest and recreation," Fera continued. "In winter the children sleep in good protection, and they exercise in ultraviolet light."

#### PARENTS PAY WHAT THEY CAN

"Our children are from 3 to 7 in age. A typical schedule for an older child would be: up at 7, gymnastics until 8, then breakfast, then a lesson in music or some other art, followed by a walk in the outdoors, and then return for dinner.

"A bath, and then sleep for 2 hours. Up at 3:15 for tea, some amusing play such as dolls or theater. Seven o'clock supper, and to bed by 8.

"Parents pay as they can. Some children are boarded free.

"Now the children have prepared a show for you."

We were seated around a sandy rectangle with a stage and piano at one end. On the stage was a large portrait of Lenin, and words of Lenin and of Lenin's wife. The "happy childhood" sign was in letters 10 inches high.

The children marched to their chairs, single file, by squads. Most were blonds, and we saw our own child in the soft cheeks and bright eyes and pudgy legs.

A girl of 7 rose and strode to the center of the stage. In a carrying voice, she recited:

"Once I became lost in the forest, and I became cold, and the darkness fell, and I was afraid that I would die, but Comrade Lenin found me and made me warm and showed me the way to safety."

The girl smartly faced right and marched to her seat.

On signals from the half-dozen woman attendants, the children danced, sang about the forest birds, and recited poems about the joy of school, which would begin for many of them in September.

Then with gusto they sang with the piano:

"On the stage is a portrait.

It is of Comrade Lenin.

He is known to everybody.

He is smiling especially at me."

The demonstration of total indoctrination went that way to the end—a dance, a song, a story about Lenin.

Once, the children held a tag dance, and they tagged us. We went out into the sand with them, and polkaed.

We tagged others, who tagged still more, until the whole kindergarten and two towering American grownups were jumping in the sunny sand, under the baleful eye of the god who was the cause of all joy.

The last Lenin poem was intoned, and on command the children stood and formed in ranks. They filed by me, and impulsively I reached out and touched the first child's hand.

Thereafter, every child paused to shake or stroke my hand, and doggone it, a bit of sand must have gotten into my eye.

#### PROGRESSION GOES SMOOTHLY

Afterward we were shown the dormitories and dining rooms, also guarded by pictures of Comrade Lenin, and draped in the flags and hung in the slogans of communism. Fera had us sit down and eat a lunch of magnificent fish soup, kvass, dark bread and corn cake with sour cream.

"You see," she said, "nothing is too good for our children."

This was the reason we had seen so few children on our Soviet trip. In kindergarten and camps, at Leningrad and at Moscow and at Kiev, at every urbanized area and even on the collectivized farms, the children are in state institutions.

The progression to maturity is smooth: After kindergarten, school with emphasis on technology and neglect of humanities (the state decides the morals).

After school, Pioneer Camps to age 12, and then to the Komsomol (Young Communists

Society) which now claims a membership of 20 million.

To those who learn their political lessons well, and to the gifted, stipends for higher education. To those who rebel, or are dull, the factory and the farm.

At Kharkov, I accompanied my guide to a camp of Pioneers of the metro workers. The camp would have cost 500,000 rubles, but the metro workers pitched in and reduced the cost to 300,000 rubles.

Here 200 children, ranging from 8 to 12, are boarded under the pines in substantial dormitories.

The director, a retired Red army colonel still most military in a tailored suit and crisp mustache, explained the schedule for the summer months: 9-10, labor education, or in other words, mopping the floors and watering flowers. 10-11, hobbies. 11 to noon, arts. Dinner. Afternoons, walks in the forest, songs, gymnastics.

"A typical group is waiting for you," he said.

The children performed in a woodland glade. The leader was an unpretty but exuberant woman who had a magic way with the children. Clearly, they adored her.

"Do the Russian people stand for war?" they sang to her direction, and the response was an echoing, "No."

#### EVEN IMAGINATION RED LINED

And here, too, the agenda was dancing, poem of Communist praise, chicken fighting between two boys, song about Lenin, ring-around-the-rosy, lecture on the happiness of the people's democracies.

Nelja, my guide, stood by me in the pines and ferns, and translated every word. Again there was no attempt to disguise the merciless molding of virgin minds.

A girl of about 10 went to the higher side of the circle, and with passion she told a story from her own imagination.

"I dreamed that I boarded a great Soviet jet airplane," she said.

"And I went to Africa, and walked into the jungle. There I found a poor, old Negro woman. She was living in a very bad house. She was hungry and cold, and afraid she would die.

"I asked her why she was so poor, and she said she was oppressed by her colonial masters, who were taking the fruits of her labor for the bosses of the capitalist nations.

"And so I showed her a photograph of Comrade Lenin, and this made her very happy."

[From the Arizona Republic, July 23, 1962]

#### AN AMERICAN IN SOVIET HEARTLAND INSPIRES STARRING, PROBING CURIOSITY

(By Don Dederer)

POLTAVA.—The Soviet Union is no place for a shy American tourist.

And what a paradise for extroverts.

Soviet citizens are insatiably curious about everything that is American. To draw an audience, all an American has to do is—be. Sit. Stand. Walk. Eat. In one restaurant Nancy nagged me into a before-dinner dance. Instantly, every window in the room was filled with faces of Soviet citizens in the streets.

It became a game with us, to sit in a park of culture and rest, and glance up suddenly at the people around us. Never—not once—did we find ourselves ignored.

"I'm beginning to think I've got two heads," said Nancy. But she enjoyed the attention. "I don't know how I can go back home where the men don't look at me anymore."

You may read in the faces anything you imagine. I don't believe I ever detected a face of hatred, although the Soviet Government bombards its people daily with anti-American propaganda. But the diatribe is directed toward the American Government and groups. The strongest negative feeling

I encountered in 3 weeks was of pity, that Americans had not seen the light of communism.

In Poltava, a farming center of a few hundred thousand in the heart of the Ukraine, only 18 American tourists had preceded us in 1962.

"I could sell tickets to these people to let them watch me tie my shoelaces," said I to my bride. The deeper we penetrated the Soviet Union, the more ragged the people were dressed, and we also dressed more and more casually. If we had gone on to Siberia, I suppose, the people would be in G-strings when we arrived in our swimsuits.

#### TOURING YANKEES INCREASING

Elsewhere, however, American tourists are common as sparrows. They flock to the larger of the 38 cities open to tourists.

This year a 10-percent increase is expected in touring over last year, when 12,000 Americans visited the Soviet Union. (Included in this figure is a shipload of people who merely touched at Leningrad, and also Americans in Russia for business reasons.)

Against the constant curiosity, there is only one defense: stare back.

Dinner in the Soviet Union can be as much a visual, as a tasteful, experience. Tourists unweaned from tender steaks and icy cocktails gripe about Soviet restaurants. But we thought the chow was fine.

"Borscht. Black bread. Butter. Beer. Goulash," was the first meal I ordered in Russia, in the Russian language.

"I am so proud of you," said my lady, when the feast arrived.

"Let me know how you like the meal 3 weeks from now," I had to say. "I have just used my entire mealtime vocabulary."

Helpfully, most menus are printed in four languages. (Last year, when the Soviet Union and Red China were undivided, the menus also were in Chinese. Now there is no Chinese on the menus; in fact, no tourists from China.) We were able to enjoy the fabled Soviet delicacies, caviar, shashlik, sodeak fish, Kiev cutlets, fried sturgeon, and roast duck.

More interesting were the people we had for dinner. The custom is to be seated anywhere, regardless of others at the tables. In Moscow we had wiener schnitzel with an Uzbek engineer, and in Leningrad breakfast cheese with an East German businessman, and in Kiev jellied sardines with a Ukrainian lawyer and his actress wife.

The linens are gray, the service slow, the dishes excessive, the bread by the loaf, the salads meager, the champagne, \$3 a liter. Lose a little; win a little.

#### AIRLINER: CONVERTIBLE BOMBER

We traveled on four kinds of airplanes, including the Soviet pioneering jet, the TU-104. A convertible bomber, the TU-104 is sparsely appointed, but its performance is outstanding. Contrary to Soviet boasts, the two-engine propeller IL-14, something like our DC-3, is still a mainstay of Aeroflot, the state airline.

In order to go from Kharkov to Volgograd, we had to fly a turboprop AN-10 to Moscow, stay a night, and take an IL-14 to Volgograd. There was no direct flight between these two major cities, and the airstrip at Volgograd, with a bigger population than Phoenix, is unpaved.

Trains vary from luxurious to undescribable. Women and men, without so much as an introduction, are bunked together in compartments. One night we were put in with two snoring Russians, whom we could have ignored if they weren't passed out from beer. The nook reeked like a fraternity house the day after final exams.

"Not me, buster," mama rebelled. So we sat up the night in the aisle.

Hotels are also \* \* \* variable. In Leningrad we had four rooms of Victorian elegance, including crystal chandelier and

gilded piano. But we didn't have, by Western standards, a clean room in all our travels. The hotel in Kharkov was like a camp in a swamp. More than new hostilities, more than faster service, my woman announced, the Soviet Union needs an old-fashioned housecleaning, especially in the little girls' rooms.

Lord knows, at their prices, the Soviets could afford scouring powder. Deluxe touring costs \$35 per day for one person, \$50 for a couple. This is for room, 3-hour daily guide service with interpreter, and a book of meal tickets which can also be used for small gifts and potables.

Intourists, in Moscow, can be as arbitrary as a branch of the Soviet foreign office, which it is.

Encouraged by Soviet brochures, in February we applied to rent a car at Kiev. We wanted to drive to Kharkov, and if possible, to the Black Sea resorts. Two days before we left the United States, we were informed the car trip would not be allowed.

"So many French tourists, there are no cars left," was the explanation given us in Russia.

#### WHERE ARE THE MOTORISTS?

A Frenchman similarly disappointed, told us: "The excuse Intourist gave me was, there are too many Americans this year renting cars."

For the hell of it, I went to a roadside resting camp on the highway near Kharkov. The camp was nearly empty; only a few Soviet cars. The manager said he had not put up a single American motorist this year.

Another aspect of Soviet tourism troubled me deeply. I'm a guy who wants to wait his turn. But guides automatically escort American tourists to the head of every line, at airports, at the ballet, at museums. "You are our dear guest," purrs the Communist guide.

Soviet propaganda accuses Americans of pushiness, and the Intourist guides seem on be instructed to prove it. I noticed on landing at airports, before the guides appeared, Soviet citizens tried to get off the airplane all at once, Americans be trampled.

But the dominant attitude of individual Soviets to us was curiosity, and frequently, affection.

An American flag was a surprise on our table at Volgograd, and the waitresses giggled in a group when we waved our thanks. The babooshkas who guard the hotel hallway key depositories are tubs of kindness. I fought four of them who insisted on carrying down my luggage at Kiev, and I lost the fight. At every departure, a swarm of jabbering old grandmothers searched our room, and they usually found something we would have left behind.

At Poltava, for the only two Americans in town, a 65-year-old porter arose at 4 a.m. in order to carry our suitcase down on flight to the cab.

Most Soviets will accept capitalistic tips, but this man put his hand on his heart and pronounced grandly in English, "You are welcomed."

To Americans, Russia turns a curious face but it is well to remember that sometimes the face is old, with a tear in its eye, from some unfathomable source.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 24, 1962]  
SOVIET STATE FARM OKAY FOR COWS, BUT  
U.S. COWBOYS WOULD BE UNHAPPY

(By Don Deder)

KHARKOV.—Cows would be contented on Lydia Alexandra Yazeba's ranch, but I don't believe cowboys would.

Her ranch is 7,700 hectares of dry farm about 15 miles out of Kharkov.

More accurately, the outfit is a state farm for agricultural experiments, and Lydia is the chief technician. She is in her 50's, univer-

sity educated, stocky of stature, and peacock proud of the farm.

She made us sit down and listen, and if it weren't for her yellow bandana and suit coat over a Ukrainian dress, she could be mistaken for a Kansas farm wife putting on airs. Anyway, almost.

"There are mainly two kinds of farms in the Soviet Union," she began. "The state farm and the collective farm. After the revolution it was difficult to nationalize the land. It was decided to collectivize the land, under management elected by the peasants, until the superiority of the state farm system could be demonstrated.

"This is a state farm, of our agricultural institute. Primarily we are experimenting in beef growing. But we have other work: fruit and vegetable growing, and sheep, pigs, and poultry. Our farm carries out artificial insemination for the entire Kharkov region.

"Here we have 2,850 head of horn cattle, 1,137 cows, 7,500 swine, 350 sows, 5,500 sheep, 10,000 laying hens, 2,500 rabbits, 500 bee hives, and 200 horses."

#### DISMAL FACTORY TOUR

Lydia noticed that I was smiling as I jotted down the statistics.

"I cannot be positive of the number of rabbits," she said. "Russian rabbits are like American rabbits."

Every year the farm ships 400 good bulls to improve Ukrainian herds. Other meat animals, fattened on corn and sugarbeets, are supplied to state stores.

On a collective farm, the peasants have a direct interest in the production of the farm. It is the closest industry to capitalism remaining in the Soviet Union. As well as sharing in the total harvest, collective workers have their own small plots where they may raise crops and animals for direct sale in the cities.

It is an embarrassment, Lydia admitted. The workers of the collective farms right now are dilly-dallying on the collective areas, and tilling mightily on their little plots.

"On this state farm," said Lydia, "our workers are paid in money, just like factory workers. They work 7 hours a day, a half day on Saturday. The average wage is 70 to 90 rubles (about \$85) per month. Tractor drivers may make 120 rubles. The lowest paid plantgrower makes 40 rubles. Have you been to a factory?"

Earlier in the day we had gone to a fur factory, where the average worker makes 90 rubles. It was so dismal, I was surprised that the Intourist guides had chosen it for a tour. As it turned out, the plant manager refused to show us the first two floors, because, he said, "they are too dirty."

American labor would throw a picket line around the Kharkov fur factory until the management fixed the stairs and tripled the lighting and made the first two floors decent.

But the 3,000 women workers at the Kharkov fur factory by law cannot strike, and they must go on producing 600 lamb coats a day, 5½ days a week, except for holidays and summer vacation. Our guide said worker complaints were welcomed by union committees, which had great power with management. A dissatisfied worker could quit, by giving 2 weeks' notice.

#### WORKERS LIVE ON STATE FARM

Coat styles were determined by a committee of fashions.

"Yes," I said to Lydia, "I have seen a factory."

"Well, here the same general rules apply. A worker's time off is his own.

"We have 800 workers, all of whom live on this state farm. Each family has a flat supplied by the state. There are clubrooms, kindergartens, libraries, nurseries. The young people have their social circles. They even dance to their own jazz band. Everyone eats in the dining room for all meals.

"Would you want to see the farm?"



Soon we were walking knowingly through the cattle barns, where the stock is held and fed through the hard winters. We saw the calf feeding operation, in which a woman is assigned to babysit and care for 40 calves, behind electric fences.

We laughed at the sows, mountainous and dusty in the Ukrainian sun, and we admired the mechanized feeding operation in the henhouses. This farm was one of those visited and praised by Emil Garst, of Iowa, who later had Khrushchev over to his house for chicken dinner.

Lydia showed me her favorite cow, Dibrovka, that had given 4,000 liters of milk with 5.53-percent butterfat for a 300-day milking period, and was put on exhibit in Moscow.

At one field Lydia beckoned me into the rows, and she leaned over and picked handfuls of sweet peas. We popped the husks and ate the peas like candy.

"What about Soviet agriculture problems?" I asked Lydia.

"We have problems. Our goal is to catch the United States."

My friend, Sam Maxcy of the Maricopa Farm Bureau, had armed me with some statistics. Productivity of the average American farmer has more than doubled in the last 20 years. Forty percent of the people of the Soviet Union are trying to grow enough food; in the United States, 10 percent of the people produce a troubling surplus.

"Can you overcome the geographical realities of the Soviet Union: limited areas of good soil, short growing season, times of drought?"

#### NO LIFE FOR U.S. COWBOY

"Certainly," said Lydia, around a mouthful of peas. "With mechanization and fertilization and opening of the virgin lands."

Between munches, I said: "Some call the virgin land program Comrade Khrushchev's greatest gamble."

"It will succeed, and the farms of the virgin land are all state farms. We will have none of the problems of individualism on the state farms in the virgin lands."

More peas. "Wasn't the recent 30-percent increase in meat and butter an admission that something is not right with the Soviet farming system?"

Lydia said, "As I said, we admit our problems. It is an effort to give the farmer a fairer reward for his labor. We are carrying out experiments right here on this farm toward solving these problems. We have a considerable exchange of ideas with American farmers and agricultural experimenters, and it is with the American success with corn as cattle feed that our farm is most concerned."

And we had another mouthful of sweet peas and gazed around the lush fields, to the rolling slopes of latticed currants, to the windbreaks of apricot and berry trees.

"Lydia," I said, "in my State there are a lot of people we call cowboys who take care of our cattle. The American cowboy is probably the worst paid, hardest worked, poorest fed human in civilization, but he is so independent, a rancher doesn't dare to give him a simple direct order. What do you say about that?"

"Ah," Lydia exclaimed. "Our cowboys are better disciplined."

[From the Arizona Republic, July 25, 1962]  
RUSSIAN TEENAGERS RESTLESS, INDEPENDENT;  
WILL THEY REBEL AGAINST BUREAUCRACY?

(By Don Dederer)

VOLGOGRAD (Stalingrad)—Between the embankment of the Volga and the Fallen Fighters Square is the Alley of Heroes of the Past.

The future takes over this mall on these soft, dusky nights.

Streams of teenagers meander the broad walks among saplings, and whisper on

benches bordered by beds of phlox. And so, too, do the young capture at night the streets of every Soviet city.

In Leningrad they stroll the Neva; in Kiev, they climb into the forests of the Dnieper cliffs; in Poltava, they march in chains, arm in arm, softly singing; in Kharkov, they go to Gorki Park.

At home, five people live in one room. At the social club is an old woman with sharp eyes. To the streets, then go the Soviet young, to promenade as in Old Mexico, because there is no other place to go with their fresh aspirations and ageless hungers.

The young men of Volgograd wear black, pegged trousers, tightly tailored. Their white dress shirts are open at the collar, the sleeves rolled above the elbow.

The girls wear short skirts and daring blouses, bouffant petticoats, high heels, rope jewelry, light pink lipstick.

A few boys are drunk, and they horse around when a doll swings by. Grandmas on the balconies of nearby apartments look down and cluck. The girl holds her chin up high and straight, turns a corner, and titters with delight.

We went to the Alley of the Heroes for a close look at the Soviet teenager, object of so much speculation on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The Soviet teenager, apparently, is a teenager first, and a Russian, Communist, and budding engineer second, third, and fourth. They are as hard to figure as American teenagers, and opinions vary as much for one country's young as the other's.

Are the Western styles evidence of rebellion, and if so, against what?

#### SUPER-COMMIES OR SUPERCYNICS?

Has a lifetime of indoctrination created a generation of super-Communists or super-cynics?

Can a nation, as has the Soviet Union, explode educational opportunity without an inevitable fallout of freedom?

Do the young Soviets want what we've got, or do they want to be what we are?

The children of Volgograd walk the dust of revolution and rubble of World War II, by the vacant pedestals of the fallen god, Stalin. Aside from hard aftermath, they have had no experience with war. As principal benefactors of a system of total security, they have not known a hungry day.

They are more akin to Karl Marx than our boy next door is to Benjamin Franklin.

They are smart. Strong. On the make. Fully aware of the scientific, if not political, promise of automation, atomic power and space exploration.

I thought they looked at me and said, "OK. So you're an American, and you have the highest living standard in the world."

"You don't scare us. We'll have it too, and soon."

But I also thought they were saying, by their dress and manner, "Comrade Khrushchev is an old square in bell-bottom pants, but we put up with him because he has liberalized the system at home, and shocked the world with our space feats."

It was the cheapest kind of speculation on my part. Answers are easy and the questions are hard:

"How can the young people of Volgograd have faith in communism, after Stalin was denounced and his name removed from the city?" I asked my young guide, Edward.

#### STALIN? COULDN'T HAPPEN AGAIN

He said, "Stalin was a good man who turned into a monster. It could never happen again under our present form of collective leadership. More attention is being paid to housing, agriculture, science and art."

"You say we do not have free speech, and it is true that we do not have men making speeches in public parks, but criticism by

the people is becoming a moving force in the development of our society. Demands and requests are heard, and we can never go back to terror."

More important than the truth of Edward's words, perhaps, was his belief in them.

If never back to terror, then to what?

How long will the youngsters of Volgograd be content with 7 square meters of living space, and at the fruition of the 20-year plan, 19 square meters?

Will they, like their mothers, tie their heads in bandanas and break concrete with jackhammers in the streets—these pink-lipped flirts of Volgograd?

Will the young men be satisfied with nothing more than a 30-kopeck chance on a peepless Volga car in the state lottery?

Will they abide an economic system that rewards an uninspired farmer as much as a gifted surgeon?

Will they be satisfied with marriages sanctified by a dowdy functionary in a plaster palace?

Will they allow their infants to be taken from them, and fastened to the treadmill of total indoctrination?

How long will the young people of Volgograd be denied travel to non-Communist countries, on the grounds that they are susceptible to the lies of capitalism?

Will the youngsters grow sick of statues of Lenin in every square, and begin to ask why the works of Picasso are hidden from view in the basements of the museums?

#### SMALL REVOLTS AMONG YOUTH

If there are in 678 libraries 18 million books in Kharkov, and the libraries are well visited, and there are bookstalls at every intersection, how long will the young people believe a monolithic press?

Will they go on sacrificing personal happiness to the ideal of communal equality?

What will their feelings be, toward an idiotic distribution system that forces a Soviet housewife to stand in line 30 hours a week, just to feed her family?

Will they do something about an inflexible bureaucratic system that stifles innovation?

"We discovered," a young Moscow brain surgeon told me, "that a certain kind of dental cement was perfect for attaching electronic sensors to brain tissue."

"As our supply grew low, we requisitioned more. The reply came back: Use of dental cement for any other purpose could not be authorized. After 3 months of filling out forms, I went to the factory and pounded the director's desk until he filled my order."

From all I could gather, such small revolts, unthinkable in the days of Stalin, are increasing among the young people of the Soviet Union.

They seem eager for lives of grace and plenty, under a governmental system evolving away from what they have.

It may be, in time, that the best hope of the world walked at night through the Alley of Heroes of the Past.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 26, 1962]  
TAKING COFFEE TO WIFE IN BED PUTS HOTEL  
STAFF IN AN UPROAR

(By Don Dederer)

"One cup of black coffee, please."

"Aren't you going to sit down and drink it here?" asked the Russian waitress.

"No. It is for my wife."

"We will bring it to your room. That is part of the service."

"You do not understand," I said. "I want to give it to her in person."

The waitress staggered back into the kitchen, and I waited in a chair. Women cooks came to the service doors and peered at me and wagged their heads. In 10 minutes the chef, himself, emerged with a tray.

"I want to make sure," he said. "You wish a cup of black coffee that you will take to your room and give to your wife?"

"Yes."

Then I carried the coffee through the hotel lobby, where the news had spread.

The woman at the gift counter put her hand over her mouth. The bell captain rushed toward me, arms extended, and then froze. From her chair behind the stairs the elevator operator sprinted to her station. On our floor two chambermaids broke off their gossip in midsentence to watch me go by.

Nancy woke, smelled the coffee, and said, "Oh, how nice."

"You are welcome," said I. "But if our countries are this far apart on the issue of a man bringing his wife a cup of coffee once in a while, how will we ever make any progress with the H-bomb?"

Here's a smile: the most sugary pastry in Russia is called Mother-in-Law's Tongue.

#### MINERAL WATER AND CAPITALISM

Our prettiest guide was Svetka, in Poltava.

A teacher by profession, she was embarrassed with her English. But from time to time she'd burst out with peppy versions of "My Old Kentucky Home," and "You Are My Sunshine." We had such a grand, gay day with her we urged her to dine with us. The evening was flawless until at coffee we asked Svetka about her girlhood.

"I am from Leningrad," she said. "Through the (German) siege, I was there. In the winter I would climb a snow mountain, and then I would see the mountain was a mound of bodies. I was only 7."

"Well," she shook her head as if to clear her brain. "Shall we go for a walk in the park?"

Soviets are very big on mineral water.

Warned about the tapwater, we followed the three rules of safety: (1) Buy mineral water. (2) Keep it sterile. (3) Drink beer.

But the Soviet people actually drink the mineral water, which is sulfurous, carbonated and good for the insides, they say.

Lora, our Kharkov guide, took us to the famous mineral springs there. A legend tells how the springs were discovered by a wife who wanted eternal youth. She drank so much water she turned into a little girl, and so she lost her husband anyway.

"Here the mineral water is free," said Lora, sharpening her political needle. "Don't you have to pay to drink the mineral water in America?"

"Not at all," I was able to say. "At Wick-enburg there is a famous well of the Has-sayampa River where the water is free. A legend says that after a man drinks there, he will never tell the truth again."

"Have you drunk there?"

"Yes," I said, and with a Mona Lisa smile, Lora asked if much of the water was bottled and sent to Washington.

#### HAIR CARE CAN BE EXPERIENCE

I had my hair cut and Nancy went to the beauty shop.

"Why?" said the barber, looking at my crewcut. He had a point. Even before he went to work, I had the shortest hair in Moscow.

The shop had six chairs, fixed facing mirrors over sinks with marble counters. The barbers wore white gowns that hung below their knees. My barber washed his hands and took fresh linens from a central washstand, fitted the protective cloth around my neck and pitched in with scissors and an aluminum comb. He had an electric cutter but he used it very little.

When it was time to trim the top, my barber carded cotton on the comb, soaked it in water and ran it through my hair. Then with his scissors he swung across my scalp like a reaper in heavy wheat.

There is no conversation in Russian barber-shops, but the young man in the next chair,

who was having a permanent wave dried under a net, turned to watch the operation on the crazy American.

Strangely, the haircut turned out pretty good. It cost 50 kopecks, and just like home, the barber managed to get a little hair down my neck.

Here is milady's report from the beauty shop in Kiev:

The beautician was a serious, dark gent of about 30. They had not one word in common, but by sign language she indicated shampoo and set. There was a half-hour wait for hot water, which arrived rusty.

He washed her head in a sink, which was streaked with rust and old paint. He wound her locks on metal rollers with rubber bands, and put the wads under a drier of a type not seen in America in 20 years. She steadfastly waited her turns with the Soviet women, who jabbered constantly about her honey-bear bob.

"Except that my hair is probably not as clean as when I went in, and that he didn't set one side of my hair, and I don't know what to do with these spiculis," Nancy reported, "I'd say it was a bargain at 86 cents."

We had hoped to be invited to a Russian home.

But it didn't happen. I thought that if a Russian couple came to the United States, and for 3 weeks made hundreds of contacts, surely one American would have said, "Come on over to the house and meet the missus."

We heard several reasons while we were not asked: historical distrust of foreigners, fear of wrath of state and, most likely, the homes are crowded and poor and hardly the place for proud Soviets to entertain.

#### HOUSEWIFE ENEMY OF WORKERS

You fish on the Volga thusly: At night, cast your minnow-baited hook and tie the line to a stick anchored to the beach. On the stick is a little bell. You fish for soodak, a pike-perch that can be as much as 2 yards long.

Around a fire of driftwood you tell lies and eat supper and wait for the bell to ring.

In Volzhsky, a new city of 75,000, lovely plaster statues of saints of labor stare down on fountains and ponds that have collapsed because of poor workmanship.

Soviets, to a man, woman, and child, believe that American housewives are parasites.

"Do you work?" they would ask Nancy.

"No, I'm a housewife," she'd begin, and after a while she developed an automatic little speech. "We have a house, not a tiny apartment, and our child is being reared and educated by us, not by the grandmothers or the state, and we eat all of our meals at home as a family, and I do all the cooking, washing, cleaning, ironing, shopping, and I help in community charities which are not outlawed in America as they are here."

But I don't think she converted any Russians. They think she lounges around all day, reading French novels and gulping cocktails, a useless burden to the working class.

[From the Arizona Republic, July 27, 1962]  
LIBERALIZATION OF SOVIET REGIME OVERESTIMATED IN WESTERN NATIONS

(By Don Dederer)

Moscow.—For the many misconceptions that Americans and Russians hold of one another, the Russians are more easily excused.

"Oh, I hope that some day you become a millionaire," gushed a girl guide as we said goodbye. It was the nicest wish she could conjure for a citizen of capitalism.

"Twenty-five percent of your citizens are unemployed," other Russians told us. "We read it in your own newspapers."

Which newspapers? The Worker of New York, which has a circulation bigger than the New York Times, the Pravda of the U.S. Government.

Soviet citizens think of capitalism in terms of the 1890's, of our civil liberties as tragic hoaxes on the workers, of our affluent living as moral decay. They know no better. They are told nothing else.

If you mention to a Russian Communist that his nation was held back by a remnant feudal and religious system, he will agree. But if you then say Russia may have made greater progress under enlightened capitalism, he will question your sanity. He thinks he knows what is capitalism.

"Freedom." There is another word.

"There is only one truth," a devoted Communist told us in Kharkov. "In your so-called free press you give the people a choice of many truths, and this is ridiculous, especially for people as simple as ours."

I paraphrased Jefferson: You say the people are too ignorant to make their own decisions; then it is our duty to enlighten them.

"Yes," said the Communist. "That is the ideal. But until the people are enlightened, there can be only the one truth."

#### MISCONCEPTIONS CLEARED

We joined a tour group of about 20 persons in Moscow, and we began to isolate some of our own false judgments about the Soviet Union.

We learned, in some surprise:

The Russian people as individuals have an obsessive fear of war. We met none who wanted to be liberated by us.

That with no comparison, and being better off economically than they have ever been, many Russians consider communism the wave of the future.

Publicly, at least, Russian morals are puritanical. And although God is denied by the Government, one to another the people of Russia practice nothing less than the Golden Rule.

That politics aside, they are a painfully sober and proud people who believe in the destiny of their motherland.

We also took to Russia a belief that the liberalization of the Soviet system has been considerable in recent years.

"It's just not that much," emphatically stated an American who has lived for years in Moscow.

"Western journalists in Moscow grow weary of sending the same hopeless stories out of Russia. So they grasp the first small sign of liberalization and blow it all out of proportion."

"So what, if the poet, Evtushenko, reads critical poetry to a crowd of students? Evtushenko is devoted to communism. He never goes too far. And his clever game wins the Soviet Union a great propaganda victory in the Western press."

"Meantime, there are 215 million Soviets who never heard of Evtushenko."

People still are being arrested for telling Khrushchev-farm jokes. Recalcitrant workers still are being shipped "voluntarily" to the virgin lands. The last shovel of dirt has not been stirred on Stalin's grave; his picture still can be seen, smaller, but no less ominous, everywhere.

"I saw the way the new liberalization works, in an incident on a trolley bus," said our friend. "An old drunk was weaving around and lecturing the passengers."

"A squad of the Komsomol, young Communists, took the old man in hand. They kidded him, they begged him to sit down, they offered to take him home, they tried to reason with him. But he kept arguing, and finally, they simply picked him up and threw him off the bus."

"That's the new liberalization. You're allowed to gripe, but if you go too far, you can still get thrown off the bus."

#### NIGHTCLUB DULL AFFAIR

Our friend took us to Aelita, the nightclub in Moscow that has been interpreted in the West as a significant relaxation of the Soviet regime. Of modern decor, the place



is in a squat yellow building on Armory Lane. The queue was short but slow moving, because Komsomol members kept breaking in at the head of the line, and gaining admission by flashing their Communist Party cards.

"You will also hear that the Soviet Union is a classless society," our Moscow friend said. "What is classless about a card that allows you to go to the head of the line? What about the Kremlin rulers living in their palatial dachas in the suburbs? They come into town in their own lanes in the street, marked off by white lines, where no one else may go."

Aelita proved as unexciting as a bowling alley bar. A good jazz band was playing "Mack the Knife," and a college crowd was sipping espresso or beer. We were seated, and were joined by a black-eyed couple with whom we traded photographs and pleasantries.

We wondered why the Russian dancing was so formal, even to music with a beat. Our answer came when a Swedish couple swung apart in an ordinary breaking step. Two members of the Komsomol management told them to hold each other with both hands, or get out.

Aelita, which opens at 8, closes at 11 p.m. "All right," said our escort. "You have seen Aelita. True, it could not have existed before liberalization. But how much does it mean, one nightclub for all of Russia?"

Moreover, we saw no sign that the Communist minority that rules the Soviet Union has softened its indoctrination at home, or lowered its goals for the world.

To a Westerner, the idolatry of Lenin borders on obscenity. His picture is on everything; his bust in every corner; his statue in every town.

Even his flesh, if that is what it is, is displayed in that red marble mausoleum, where the darkness and coolness and soldiery have been chosen by expert psychologists. Even the long lines in front of the tomb are creations of the State, insured by opening the tomb only a few hours a day.

#### COMMUNISM RULE PREDICTED

And if we had any doubts about the evangelism of the religion of communism, they were dispelled by one of its priestesses, Nina.

She took us to the Lenin museum in the old interim parliament building off Revolution Square. Here the baby pictures, the hats, and coats, the manuscripts, the suitcases of Lenin are collected. There is even a motion picture, "Lenin Alive!" made of meticulously edited newsreels of cinema's early days.

Here the tourist, Soviet and Western alike, is exposed to world history and destiny as projected through the warped lenses of communism.

The climax is a map of the world, extending almost from ceiling to floor.

Some areas are red. Some orange. Some yellow.

"The red areas indicate where independence has been achieved under the people's democracies," said Nina.

Crimson stretched from the Baltic to the Pacific, from the Mediterranean to the Arctic. Cuba, too, was red.

"The orange areas show where the people are struggling to achieve independence under socialism." Algeria. Laos. Congo.

Nina began to move away from the map. It was too much.

"But wait," I said. "What, then, is indicated by the yellow portions of the globe? I notice the United States is yellow."

"They are countries," she said, "which have not yet achieved independence of the Socialist system. The people in the yellow countries are controlled by the rich. But the people in those countries will some day establish their own Communist governments."

Her statement touched off a lively debate in the Temple of Lenin. A crowd of Soviet citizens pressed around and hung on every translation. Some Englishmen in our tour, strangely enough, were most outraged.

"This is your terrible illusion," said an English lawyer to Nina. "Wealth is no longer concentrated in the hands of a few. Why, even our queer is middle class."

Nina smiled almost pityingly, and said: "What does the West offer the underprivileged and undeveloped nations of the world? Contradictions and injustice. We have a positive plan. We say—look, you can have this, exactly this, in 10 years."

"Our movement is international. There can be no question that some day communism will prevail in every nation of the world."

#### NEEDED: "HANDBOOK OF FARM LAWS AND PROGRAMS"

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, over the years, the Nation has adopted an extensive, complex system of farm laws and programs.

Unfortunately, the complicated system, however, now suffers from lack of communication to farmers on available programs, and how to use them; entanglements in governmental redtape; eligibility requirements so complicated—or often so buried in bureaucratic language—as to discourage participation.

As a result, the existing programs—even though administrative costs continue—may not be fully utilized to help the farmers.

For this reason, I am proposing that the Secretary of Agriculture prepare a simplified handbook of farm laws and programs.

This would, I believe, be extremely useful to farmers, county agents, conservationists, State and Federal departments of agriculture and others interested in agriculture, as well as Congress.

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of my request to the Secretary of Agriculture printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am writing to respectfully urge the preparation for farmers of a simplified handbook of farm laws and programs. The purpose would be to provide a summary of existing laws and programs; a clear definition of their purposes; illustrations of how these can effectively help the farmer; and simplified ways for participating in such programs.

Over the years, the Nation has adopted an extensive, complex system of laws relating to agriculture.

A simplified handbook of farm laws and programs would, I believe, help to provide for greater, more effective use of such programs; and serve as a useful guide for review, revision, and, as necessary, repeal of existing—or adoption of new—programs to improve the economic outlook in agriculture.

This would, I believe, be extremely useful to farmers, county agents, conservationists, State and Federal departments of agriculture, and others interested in agriculture, as well as to Congress.

With appreciation for the consideration I know you will give this matter, I remain with kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,

ALEXANDER WILEY.

#### SWIMMING POOLS ON WHEELS

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an article by Jesse Brodey, published in the New York Sunday News on July 29, explaining the work of the YMCA in Elizabeth, N.J., in teaching swimming through a very interesting development, the swimmobile.

This innovation, known as "Instant YMCA," has been made possible through the active cooperation of many individuals and groups. I believe it offers a method of helping to reduce the drownings which are too frequent each summer, as well as contributing to the fitness and recreation of many children who would not otherwise have this opportunity.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### SWIMMING POOLS ON WHEELS MAKING STATE DROWNPROOF (By Jesse Brodey)

In this motorized age of sprawling suburbia, it had to come: swimming pools on wheels. Now, 500 youngsters a week, from Elizabeth to Camden, are learning to swim in two YMCA swimmobiles that set up shop right in the kids' own neighborhoods.

The swimmobiles were dreamed up by Gerald H. Croushore, of 128 Mohawk Drive, Cranford, a secretary at the Eastern Union County YMCA in Elizabeth for the past 5 years. "Our aim is to 'drownproof' the State," Croushore said.

Each swimmobile is a 20 by 8 foot swimming pool mounted on a tractor-trailer. One is 3 feet deep and the other 4.

"It's just another case of the mountain and Mohammed," Croushore said. "We had to move the mountain. We found that we had a growing community to serve and transportation, parking problems, infrequent bus service, and so forth were discouraging many from using our YMCA in Elizabeth."

"We just decided to bring the Y to the youngsters," Croushore added. "We call it, 'Instant YMCA.'"

With two instructors taking turns handling half hour sessions, each swimmobile usually schedules 24 classes a day. By the end of five lessons, more than 50 percent of the youngsters age 6 to 11, can pass the beginners' tests by swimming two lengths of the 20-foot pool.

#### THREE TRAILERS DONATED

According to George W. Hoffman of Scotch Plains, Y secretary in charge of swimmobile class registrations, each swimmobile is worth about \$15,000 but because of donations of time, workmanship, and materials by local firms, the total cash outlay by the Y was less than \$700 each.

Joseph Perrotto, vice president of Eastern Motor Dispatch and a member of the YMCA Men's Health Club, donated three trailers. One was a 22-foot-long box carrier, which the Y converted into a funmobile by equipping it with tumbling mats, athletic equipment, and a long arts and crafts workbench. It has since been donated to Puerto Rico and is being operated by a YMCA branch there.

Members of Carpenter's Union Local 715 of Elizabeth erected the swimming pool walls of plywood on a heavy steel frame without charge. Ed Bittner, an executive of Better Finishes and Coatings of Clifton which supplies material for mothballing the U.S. Fleet, put on overalls to spray on five waterproof coats of flexible vinyl plastic coating.

One swimmobile has been touring different cities elsewhere in the State this past month and has already been in action in Camden and New Brunswick.

To haul the pool from place to place, Eastern Motor Dispatch is contributing both a tractor and a driver.

The second swimmobile has already handled an average of 250 youngsters a week in swim classes at sites in Elizabethport and Union.

Berman Trucking has donated the use of a tractor for the second swimmobile for the summer. James McAteer, 22, of Cranford, a second year law student at Vanderbilt University, doubles as driver and swimming instructor. Croushore's daughter, Karen, 20, a student at Bethany College, West Virginia, is the other swimming instructor.

#### RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

**Mr. MANSFIELD.** Mr. President, in accordance with the order previously entered, I move that the Senate take a recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 56 minutes p.m.) the Senate took a recess, under the order previously entered, until tomorrow, Wednesday, August 15, 1962, at 10 o'clock a.m.

#### NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate August 14, 1962:

##### DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Charles E. Bohlen, of the District of Columbia, a Foreign Service officer of the class of career ambassador, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to France.

##### COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS

Frank A. Sedita, of New York, to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 9, with headquarters at Buffalo, N.Y.

##### IN THE MARINE CORPS

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of colonel, subject to qualification therefor as provided by law:

Stevenson, Howard F. Severance, Dave E.  
Bacon, Franklin C. Nelson, Harold E.  
Roush, Martin B. Hunt, Sanford B., Jr.  
Saussy, George S., Jr. Habertle, Douglas E.  
Johnson, William G. Clark, Albert L.  
Mitchell, William P. Richardson, Judson  
Conley, Robert F. C., Jr.  
Bolish, Robert J. Blackburn, George  
Wilkinson, Frank R., P., Jr.  
Jr. Simmons, Edwin H.  
Lyford, Truman K. Bridges, David W.  
Carpenter, James B., Carrington, George  
Jr. W., Jr.  
Bruder, Joseph A. Jeschke, Richard H., Jr.  
Whipple, Warren E. Jr.  
Norris, Glenn E. McNeill, John P.  
Lanigan, John P. Scherr, Robert A.  
McShane, Bernard Williams, Grover C., Jr.  
Horn, Charles H. Cibik, Steve J.  
Gilson, Leslie A. Treadwell, James P.  
Reusser, Kenneth L. Thompson, Roy H.  
Smith, Paul M. Casey, Dennis P.  
Keith, Bruce E. Rathbun, Robert L.  
Short, James C. Windsor, John J.  
Ourand, William R., Jr. Fairbanks, Willis L.  
Wallace, Harold Steinkraus, Robert F.  
Munday, Jack R. Ellis, George W.  
Thomas, Frank C. Haynes, Fred E., Jr.  
Hise, Henry W. Bates, William L., Jr.  
Rouse, Jules M. Jr.  
Tillmann, Alfred A. Carney, Robert B., Jr.  
Hearn, Alexander M. McClanahan, James F.  
Johnson, Dan H. Silverthorn, Merwin  
Risher, Clarence T., Jr.  
Voorhees, Edward H. H., Jr.

Dick, William L.  
Gall, Walter  
Gilhuly, Fred J.  
Zastrow, Herbert E. L.  
Randall, Thomas L.  
McMaster, Robert G.

Poggemeyer, Herman, Jr.  
Twisdale, Robert H.  
Laing, Robert B.  
Bowman, John W.  
Chip, William C.  
Donahoe, Joseph F.

##### IN THE AIR FORCE

The following-named officers for promotion in the Regular Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of chapter 835, title 10, United States Code, as amended. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

##### LEUTENANT COLONEL TO COLONEL

###### Line of the Air Force

Adams, Lawrence A., Jr., 8935A.  
Adamson, Norman F., 9546A.  
Adkins, James C., 6220A.  
Alexander, Lawrence E., Jr., 7271A.  
Alford, David G., 4582A.  
Allen, John T., 6834A.  
Andrews, George E., 7333A.  
Andrews, George H., 10014A.  
Anzelon, George J., 7942A.  
Arnold, Carl, 8698A.  
Bailey, Charles E., 4799A.  
Baker, Frederick J., 19991A.  
Baker, Lee E., 3287A.  
Baker, Merlin W., 9698A.  
Banning, Richard E., 8433A.  
Barger, David H., 9851A.  
Barton, William G., 9000A.  
Baumgardner, Bruce K., 7451A.  
Beall, Arthur W., 6797A.  
Beers, Robert W., 8938A.  
Begg, Charles F. H., 8476A.  
Belfield, Douglas F., 8627A.  
Bell, Homer C., Jr., 9652A.  
Bender, Richard C., 5144A.  
Bergum, Lester N., 9297A.  
Berkow, Joseph J., 7839A.  
Bertling, Stephen J., 6806A.  
Best, Jack R., 7631A.  
Bishop, Edwin, Jr., 4566A.  
Bland, Edwin A., Jr., 3892A.  
Bohman, Thomas S., 6685A.  
Bonneaux, William K., Jr., 9051A.  
Boone, Lewis P., Jr., 6524A.  
Borellis, William F., 9871A.  
Boreske, Andrew, Jr., 10121A.  
Bounds, John E., 9408A.  
Bowden, William M., 5790A.  
Bowen, John W., 3873A.  
Bradford, Carl W., 6620A.  
Bradshaw, Marion A., 9119A.  
Brady, Edward L., 8536A.  
Brandeberry, Frank E., Jr., 3199A.  
Brasier, Carl O., 7024A.  
Brauer, William H., 9706A.  
Bronson, Frederick F., 4253A.  
Brooks, Philip, 8815A.  
Buckley, Jack L., 5191A.  
Budd, Hyme A., 3275A.  
Burhanna, Howard, Jr., 3235A.  
Bussey, Donald G., 9010A.  
Butler, Clifton L., Jr., 9799A.  
Butler, Edward G., 4617A.  
Caffall, Joseph M., 18077A.  
Cameron, William R., 9173A.  
Carey, Robert H., 7047A.  
Carlson, Francis B., 3637A.  
Carlson, Thorngny C., Jr., 4405A.  
Carroll, John A., Jr., 8762A.  
Castle, Vernon H., 6675A.  
Cathcart, Richard E., 8814A.  
Chalek, William D., 4488A.  
Chase, Linden, 3615A.  
Cheever, Russell E., 4918A.  
Christman, Harry W., Jr., 8014A.  
Clark, Jack C., 4649A.  
Clark, Joseph J. F., 12525A.  
Claytor, Roy F., 7979A.  
Cochran, Wharton C., 7120A.  
Cole, Edward L., 6563A.  
Couser, Walter J., Jr., 7860A.  
Cox, Richard G., 9277A.  
Crandall, George B., 3157A.  
Crisp, Dennis, 5130A.  
Cutler, John M., 9848A.

Dacus, John H., 9187A.  
Damico, Robert H., 9733A.  
Daniel, Joe R., 3968A.  
Daunt, John J., Jr., 8312A.  
Davidson, William H., 7853A.  
Dean, David K., 5714A.  
Delaney, Charles W., 10277A.  
Delapp, John R., 3560A.  
Detwiler, Donald A., 10130A.  
Dibrell, Charles F., 3843A.  
Dickson, Marion L., 3471A.  
Dienz, John E., 9221A.  
Dieterich, Virgil C., 8873A.  
Dinwiddle, Robert E., 6216A.  
Dowdell, John R., 8365A.  
Duch, Walter F., 9664A.  
Dunn, Bruce C., 8774A.  
Dyer, Frederick W., Jr., 8519A.  
Eberts, Major D., 7769A.  
Edwards, Wilbur H., 8289A.  
Ehlers, Melville V., 3728A.  
Eickemeyer, Karl F., 9872A.  
Ellis, Frank T., 9823A.  
Elmore, Vernon O., 3908A.  
Emory, Frank N., 9304A.  
English, Peter F., 9313A.  
Erben, James B., 9265A.  
Erbin, Robert A., 3307A.  
Ernst, Sol E., 3574A.  
Fenlon, James W., 9588A.  
Fischer, Jerome J., 9488A.  
Fishburn, James B., 7201A.  
Fitzgerald, John E., Jr., 7404A.  
Flynn, Charles J., Jr., 9945A.  
Ford, Claud E., 9413A.  
Foster, George M., 5145A.  
Foster, James H., 8432A.  
Fox, James H., 8877A.  
Franks, George E., 8267A.  
Frarie, Wayne M., Jr., 9095A.  
Frisbie, Curtis L., 3977A.  
Fulcher, Stanley A., 8164A.  
Fulton, Raymond A., 9064A.  
Gaffney, John W., 3535A.  
Gallagher, Francis B., 3229A.  
Galt, George T., 8585A.  
Gandy, Hilliard L., 8161A.  
Gardiner, Paul E., 8137A.  
Gerda, Walter H., Jr., 3138A.  
Gibbons, William L., 10085A.  
Glassburn, Kenneth L., 5077A.  
Godfrey, Eugene O., 8622A.  
Gordon, William P., Jr., 5771A.  
Gourley, Harold H., 9397A.  
Griffin, Joseph H., 5205A.  
Gruetzemacher, Robert O., 8386A.  
Gueydan, James E., 7278A.  
Gustafson, Wayne A., 6930A.  
Hale, Russell D., 3761A.  
Hallam, Philip G., 8653A.  
Haller, Roscoe R., 9210A.  
Ham, Stephen P., 7368A.  
Hamlyn, Raymond E., 9956A.  
Hardaway, Ben F., Jr., 8889A.  
Hargrove, Clifford W., 10038A.  
Harmon, David N., 7677A.  
Harris, Richard C., 9370A.  
Harwell, James A., Jr., 9661A.  
Hayes, William D., Jr., 7392A.  
Heatly, Ralph O., 5149A.  
Heinzel, Jack H., 3239A.  
Hendry, Augustus M., Jr., 8645A.  
Hennessy, Robert J., 5907A.  
Hibner, Edwin L., 9069A.  
Higginbotham, Harold K., 6466A.  
Hill, Charles H., 6936A.  
Hill, Landon P., 8340A.  
Hoffman, Theodore C., 7542A.  
Hogg, Robert, 5701A.  
Holland, Chaz M., 9194A.  
Hoss, Robert J., 32860A.  
Hovatter, Elbert T., 9876A.  
Howard, Homer B., 7304A.  
Howard, James S., 4802A.  
Huau, Joseph H., Jr., 10140A.  
Hunter, James D., 9393A.  
Hyde, Frederick W., Jr., 8941A.  
Hyde, Thomas C., Sr., 8739A.  
Ingram, James W., 7823A.  
Jablecki, Leon S., 7170A.  
Jacobs, Francis, 3208A.



Jarman, James T., 7547A.  
 Jefferson, Harold D., 8166A.  
 Jens, Henry P., 10205A.  
 Johns, Howard G., 9690A.  
 Johnson, Charles W., Jr., 8636A.  
 Johnson, Joseph G., Jr., 9744A.  
 Johnston, Robert E., 6711A.  
 Jones, David J., 5053A.  
 Jones, David R., 8065A.  
 Jones, Ernest B., 2005A.  
 Jones, George P., Jr., 18071A.  
 Jones, William T., 9593A.  
 Jordan, Samuel P., 7664A.  
 Kahley, William F., 32897A.  
 Kane, Francis X., 9774A.  
 Kelly, Dennis P., Jr., 7308A.  
 Kelly, Walter E., 8424A.  
 Kendig, Robert E., 8651A.  
 Kenney, Paul H., 9728A.  
 Kilgore, James L., 2938A.  
 King, Donald H., 8505A.  
 Kinney, George R., 9844A.  
 Knowles, Kenyon L., 6025A.  
 Knox, Glen E., 9365A.  
 Koehler, Leonard F., 9697A.  
 Konin, David H., 6724A.  
 Koontz, Ray W., Jr., 3759A.  
 Krause, Harris F., 6619A.  
 Kursar, August, 7172A.  
 Kyer, Fred E., 7862A.  
 Lafrenz, William A., 4855A.  
 Langford, Robert I., 7670A.  
 Laurents, Robert B., 9035A.  
 Leet, Jonathan, 5902A.  
 Lemley, Samuel A., 8852A.  
 Lemme, William P., 7650A.  
 Lind, Marcel, 6270A.  
 Lockhart, Russell D., 6837A.  
 Loisel, John S., 5235A.  
 Lollar, Clarence L., 7900A.  
 Long, Alan G., 6486A.  
 Loudon, Edward K., 4664A.  
 Lucas, Anthony D., 8843A.  
 Lucia, Raymond W., 7361A.  
 Luts, John, 6277A.  
 Machemer, Carl C., 10251A.  
 Mahone, John R., 9943A.  
 Mallory, Robert F., 4574A.  
 Mansfield, Richard M., 8285A.  
 Mariska, Ben F., 3167A.  
 Maritzen, Lyle C., 6215A.  
 Markham, Peter J., 32864A.  
 Marschner, Bernard W., 9143A.  
 Martin, Clarence A., Jr., 4703A.  
 Massengale, Herbert W., 8503A.  
 Masters, Elmer L., 9880A.  
 Matthews, Donald E., 8485A.  
 Mattison, Robert M., 5877A.  
 May, Britt S., 9843A.  
 May, Richard H., 4695A.  
 McClain, Howard P., 9892A.  
 McComb, William J., 8043A.  
 McConnell, Charles H., 8848A.  
 McDavid, Andrew E., 6114A.  
 McDonald, John R., 8452A.  
 McGonnell, Owen J., 10088A.  
 McKee, Jack E., 9635A.  
 McKee, James T., 7389A.  
 McLaughlin, John A., 3862A.  
 McLean, Edward R., 9884A.  
 McRae, Roland L., 9668A.  
 McReynolds, Zachariah A., 9256A.  
 Mehaffey, Nathan G., 7771A.  
 Michels, Robert W., 19783A.  
 Miller, Richard W., 4995A.  
 Miller, Robert, 10073A.  
 Miller, William C., 7861A.  
 Mitchell, Richard R., 4209A.  
 Mobbs, George D., 5163A.  
 Montgomery, David F., 7105A.  
 Moritz, Gene P., 5941A.  
 Morris, Robert C., Jr., 8304A.  
 Muhlbach, Robert P., 3146A.  
 Muldrow, Robert, 9788A.  
 Munns, Edward A., 8905A.  
 Murphy, Benjamin S., 9421A.  
 Murphy, Robert E., 6232A.  
 Myers, Lansing H., 7305A.  
 Neighbors, Lloyd W., 6125A.  
 Neill, Dennis V., 9137A.  
 Newland, Martin K., 8281A.  
 Newman, Frank M., 4777A.

Nichols, John D., Jr., 4192A.  
 Nichols, Willard A., 9271A.  
 Nolan, John A., 9106A.  
 Nollkamper, James L., 9295A.  
 Norris, William A., 5046A.  
 Nowark, Charles G., 6778A.  
 O'Connor, Leo N., 3585A.  
 O'Donnell, John C., 7554A.  
 O'Donnell, John T., 6648A.  
 Odren, Harry M., 8492A.  
 O'Hara, Robert C., 9684A.  
 Owens, Marcus O., Jr., 5135A.  
 Palmer, Miles R., 3932A.  
 Parker, Julian W., 8300A.  
 Parks, Bernard G., 6646A.  
 Parks, Merton L., 32880A.  
 Patterson, Ralph R., 4605A.  
 Payne, Carl G., 8280A.  
 Pearsall, David W., 7938A.  
 Pearson, Ralph J., 10090A.  
 Pennywitt, Glen E., 6363A.  
 Perry, Bruce L., 8331A.  
 Perry, Gilbert T., 3145A.  
 Peterson, Lee L., 6376A.  
 Pike, Robert F., 6009A.  
 Pittman, George H., Jr., 4077A.  
 Plate, Stanley W., 6171A.  
 Ploetz, Frederick F., 3487A.  
 Price, William G., 3d, 7802A.  
 Pryor, Roger C., 32892A.  
 Rathbun, Edward L., 8062A.  
 Reed, Henry C., 8053A.  
 Reid, John D., 8901A.  
 Reifsteck, Calvin D., 6971A.  
 Riepe, Quenten A., 9883A.  
 Riggie, Glenn B., 5176A.  
 Riley, Lewis R., 7537A.  
 Ritter, James H., 6223A.  
 Ritter, Robert J., 5384A.  
 Robbins, Harold W., 6942A.  
 Roberts, George S., 8482A.  
 Rogers, Glenn E., 9535A.  
 Rose, Howard C., 10016A.  
 Ross, William E., 4579A.  
 Roth, Floyd E., 4929A.  
 Roth, John Y. C., 8066A.  
 Rundell, Francis E., 2d, 10114A.  
 Russell, Harold G., 9464A.  
 Ryan, John L., 8041A.  
 Rydstrom, Jean F., 7982A.  
 Sanctuary, Robert H., 10031A.  
 Saunders, Johnson R., Jr., 6853A.  
 Scales, John C., 6851A.  
 Schoenfeldt, Verl B., 4971A.  
 Schulte, Orville J., 9140A.  
 Schuyler, Dean H., 8667A.  
 Sevier, Coy T., 9209A.  
 Shackelford, Walter S., Jr., 7649A.  
 Shambek, Clarence H., 9949A.  
 Shean, John P., 8965A.  
 Shelton, Eldridge G., Jr., 8837A.  
 Shelton, Lee M., 7258A.  
 Shirey, Clair L., 9607A.  
 Silliman, Clifford R., 8296A.  
 Silvester, Lindsey M., 10156A.  
 Simmons, J. A., Jr., 5060A.  
 Simpson, Thomas S., 9238A.  
 Smiley, Bert N., 7540A.  
 Smith, Hall F., 3278A.  
 Smith, Kenneth B., 10112A.  
 Smith, Raleigh D., 7891A.  
 Smith, Ralph L., 10089A.  
 Spear, Peter H., 8602A.  
 Stainback, Frank P., Jr., 7112A.  
 Stewart, Carl W., 6464A.  
 Stockett, John C., Jr., 6087A.  
 Strait, William V., Jr., 9218A.  
 Stubbs, James M., 9360A.  
 Stublarec, Michael J., 7050A.  
 Sullivan, Charles P., 3754A.  
 Sullivan, Frank E., 3721A.  
 Sullivan, William C., 10079A.  
 Swofford, John F., 7526A.  
 Sykes, George K., 9763A.  
 Taliaferro, Walter R., 9792A.  
 Tapp, James B., 9052A.  
 Taylor, Thomas R., 5041A.  
 Thacker, John M., 4603A.  
 Thompson, Dan F., 8234A.  
 Thorne, Walter E., 7171A.  
 Thornton, Clark O., 8329A.

Tidball, Dale R., 6194A.  
 Toole, Richard A., 7637A.  
 Topper, Morse, 6591A.  
 Torresson, Thomas S., Jr., 4237A.  
 Trask, James E., 8548A.  
 Tueller, Jack L., 8545A.  
 Turk, Wilbert, 9740A.  
 Twichell, Wallace B., Jr., 8284A.  
 Tyler, Joe M., 8260A.  
 Utley, William A., 6047A.  
 Vague, Harold R., 22991A.  
 Vanduy, John E., 9827A.  
 Vignetti, John L., 6410A.  
 Walborn, George S., 3757A.  
 Walker, Lewis H., 9220A.  
 Walker, William A., 6586A.  
 Wegenhoft, Victor C., 7791A.  
 Weigel, Andrew H., 8902A.  
 Weiser, Gus, 9703A.  
 White, Donald B., 3697A.  
 White, Grover C., Jr., 3917A.  
 Whitlow, Robert V., 9837A.  
 Wiesner, Paul F., 6076A.  
 Wilds, Harry, 3949A.  
 Williams, Charles C., 8126A.  
 Williams, Philip Y., 49131A.  
 Williams, William A., 7388A.  
 Williams, William M., 7068A.  
 Williamson, Philip J., 11754A.  
 Wilson, Richard A., 9357A.  
 Winget, Francis E., 6296A.  
 Witters, Arthur G., 7814A.  
 Woida, Joseph A., 7215A.  
 Woolwine, Charles C., 3399A.  
 Wray, James W., Jr., 8790A.  
 Wright, Robert J., 9953A.  
 Young, Franklin F., 7199A.  
 Zalcudek, Charles J., 3605A.

#### Chaplain

Brennan, George J., 18795A.  
 Chess, Edwin R., 55101A.

#### Dental Corps

Fricke, Vernon S., 18951A.

#### Medical Corps

Bennett, Bruce H., 19198A.  
 Block, Herbert E., 19210A.  
 Brannon, Earl W., Jr., 19288A.  
 Campanale, Ralph P., 19301A.  
 Defries, William A., 19254A.  
 Ferrell, Lee F., 19206A.  
 Frediani, Alexander W., 19236A.  
 Karstens, Andres I., 19740A.  
 Kavanagh, John J., 19563A.  
 Larson, Thurman A., 19314A.  
 Lawrence, Howard R., 19190A.  
 Lewis, Robert B., 19138A.  
 Lifton, Solomon E., 19318A.  
 Marett, William C., 19267A.  
 Norton, John A., 19151A.  
 Sawyer, Malcolm H., 27482A.  
 Steel, Maxwell W., Jr., 19275A.  
 Strub, Giles J., 19241A.  
 Tkach, Walter R., 19360A.  
 Wright, Paul E., 19229A.

#### Nurse Corps

Kehoe, Doris A., 20906W.

#### Medical Service Corps

Bryant, Russel L., 19418A.  
 Haines, Charles C., 19442A.  
 Edwards, Gerald, 48898A.  
 King, Paul W., 19457A.  
 Johnson, Kenneth B., 19473A.

#### Veterinary Corps

Rushmore, Rowland W., 19001A.  
 The following named officers for promotion in the Regular Air Force, under the appropriate provisions of chapter 835, title 10, United States Code, as amended. All officers are subject to physical examination required by law.

#### SECOND LIEUTENANT TO FIRST LIEUTENANT

##### Line of the Air Force

Abe, Harry H., 56360A.  
 Abel, David R., 56026A.  
 Adam, Wallace B., 63132A.  
 Adamczyk, Edmund J., 56068A.  
 Adams, Ellis C. L., 59450A.

- Ahart, Edward L., 63344A.  
 Ahearn, John F., 63228A.  
 Akers, Brian L., 63297A.  
 Alger, Harold C., 56383A.  
 Allison, Robert F., 56095A.  
 Anderson, Donald W., 56527A.  
 Anderson, Roger C., 56117A.  
 Armbruster, John A., 63226A.  
 Armistead, Samuel E., Jr., 56094A.  
 Armstrong, Arthur J., 63322A.  
 Arseneault, Gerard J., 62031A.  
 Austin, William J., 56066A.  
 Austin, William W., Jr., 56382A.  
 Ayant, John P., 56215A.  
 Ayres, Donald L., 56150A.  
 Bahr, Donald P., 55756A.  
 Baird, James F., 59525A.  
 Barnett, Larry L., 63290A.  
 Beaty, Randall E., 56063A.  
 Beavers, Michael L., 56084A.  
 Beck, David H., 56332A.  
 Beerman, Raymond O., 63557A.  
 Bell, James M., 55752A.  
 Bellan, David F., 56090A.  
 Bergstad, Joe G., 63333A.  
 Bergstrom, Charles R., 3d, 63347A.  
 Black, Donald R., 56088A.  
 Boehm, John E., 56065A.  
 Boehm, Stanley P., 63339A.  
 Borkowski, William R., 59521A.  
 Bouska, Richard C., 59627A.  
 Boynton, Gerald D., 63102A.  
 Bracken, Edward R., 56069A.  
 Bridges, Edward S., 2d, 63182A.  
 Briesch, Earl W., 63191A.  
 Brooks, Kent, 63213A.  
 Brown, William R., 56108A.  
 Bruetsch, Walter E., 63239A.  
 Bryden, William D., Jr., 59571A.  
 Bulita, James A., 56180A.  
 Bukovszky, Raymond A., 56082A.  
 Buran, Ronald D., 56304A.  
 Burchard, Donald C., 63145A.  
 Burke, James P., 63221A.  
 Burns, Richard S., 56144A.  
 Burt, James E., 56085A.  
 Butaud, Louis C., Jr., 56264A.  
 Campbell, James F., 63117A.  
 Carr, Houston H., 56212A.  
 Chambers, John E., 56218A.  
 Champagne, Kenneth F., 56269A.  
 Church, James W. B., Jr., 63230A.  
 Chynoweth, William M., 56364A.  
 Clark, Lawrence D., 56022A.  
 Clarke, Walter F., 63157A.  
 Cline, Lawrence A., 56089A.  
 Coblenz, Thomas H., Jr., 56101A.  
 Collins, Albert H., 56381A.  
 Colton, George M., 63294A.  
 Colwell, Gary A., 56300A.  
 Comeaux, David M., 56311A.  
 Conover, John A., 56099A.  
 Cooper, Charles W., 56337A.  
 Corbett, Lee T., Jr., 56079A.  
 Cornwell, Jefford R., 63298A.  
 Coston, Jack F., 56530A.  
 Cousar, Harold W., 56248A.  
 Craig, David C., 56513A.  
 Craig, Ronald W., 56267A.  
 Cronican, John G., 63241A.  
 Cronquist, Richard G., 63196A.  
 Culton, Robert E., 56072A.  
 Cunningham, Ralph L., 56288A.  
 Danekas, Gary N., 56363A.  
 Dauber, Carl W., 63303A.  
 Davenport, Ernest J., 63296A.  
 Davis, Richard F., 56106A.  
 Dawley, Donald L., 63318A.  
 Deeming, John E., 56253A.  
 Delaney, Robert S., 56302A.  
 Demarco, Joseph R., 56104A.  
 Denton, Harvey D., 59523A.  
 Dianich, David F., 63178A.  
 Dickinson, Dean C., 63149A.  
 Dipilla, Reginangelo A., 63121A.  
 Dow, Donald W., Jr., 63224A.  
 Doyle, David F., 56105A.  
 Driscoll, David L., 59573A.  
 Driskill, Joe W., 56520A.  
 Dubois, Joseph A., Jr., 56080A.  
 Dugan, James T., 56087A.  
 Duke, William G., 59518A.  
 Dytrt, William L., 56305A.  
 Easley, Michael W., 63440A.  
 Eastburn, Loren D., 56312A.  
 Eaton, Harold E., 59118A.  
 Edwards, Herbert H., 56098A.  
 Ellerman, Gaylord M., 56097A.  
 Ellis, Christopher F., 63352A.  
 Ellis, Ronald R., 56315A.  
 Engle, Donald S., 61692A.  
 Enomoto, Lawrence M. G., 55757A.  
 Erhart, Ronald G., 63315A.  
 Eskelin, Richard D., 56114A.  
 Evans, Charles D., 56362A.  
 Farrell, Joseph M., 56531A.  
 Farrington, John R., 56116A.  
 Farwell, David C., 56119A.  
 Fedder, Joel A., 56327A.  
 Feigert, Frank B., 56342A.  
 Fisher, Paul T., 56522A.  
 Fitzgibbon, James J., 56122A.  
 Fitzsimmons, Frederic S., 56534A.  
 Flood, Jerry D., 56366A.  
 Fogle, James M., 63161A.  
 Foster, Wallace K., 56341A.  
 Freer, Jerry H., 63125A.  
 Funkhouser, Robert E., Jr., 56348A.  
 Fyock, Milford D. V., 63288A.  
 Gallas, Donald T., 63184A.  
 Gallinger, Robert J., 63249A.  
 Garrison, Harold T., 56262A.  
 Gazzola, Robert A., 56074A.  
 Gealta, Thomas S., 56239A.  
 Geesey, Roger A., 63199A.  
 Giddings, Glenn G., Jr., 59464A.  
 Glessman, John A., 61725A.  
 Gilbertson, Edward W., 56181A.  
 Gill, Ben T., Jr., 63332A.  
 Glenn, Robert D., 56071A.  
 Gnan, Johann K., Jr., 56241A.  
 Gobble, Robert D., 56135A.  
 Godsey, Nell W., 63331A.  
 Goetz, Michael B., 63329A.  
 Goetz, Robert C., 56369A.  
 Good, Ira D., 56346A.  
 Goode, John D., 56182A.  
 Gordon, Walter L., 56086A.  
 Graham, Bobby G., 56193A.  
 Grant, Richard C., 56268A.  
 Gravely, Elisha G., 56299A.  
 Green, Edward H., 56073A.  
 Green, Ronald R., 63246A.  
 Grubbs, Billie E., 56216A.  
 Haas, Harvey J., 59458A.  
 Hager, John A., 63257A.  
 Haines, Robert G., Jr., 56194A.  
 Haley, Robert L., 59529A.  
 Hall, Oscar W., 59452A.  
 Hamer, Howard A., 63300A.  
 Hancock, Charles C., Jr., 63122A.  
 Handley, Philip W., 59116A.  
 Hardy, Peter J., 56075A.  
 Hargrove, Floyd E., 56077A.  
 Hargrove, Jay P., 56365A.  
 Harlan, Billy C., 56502A.  
 Harpe, Winfield S., 56137A.  
 Harris, Emory F., 56256A.  
 Harris, Robert C., 56500A.  
 Harrod, James R., 56062A.  
 Hataway, James A., 59466A.  
 Haugeberg, Arnold W., 56179A.  
 Hawkins, Michael W., 59524A.  
 Hearn, Reginald A., 56536A.  
 Heaton, Wendell J., 56102A.  
 Heglie, Roger A., 59531A.  
 Henley, Jackson A., 56197A.  
 Henningsen, Richard M., 56301A.  
 Henry, Theron A., Jr., 62024A.  
 Hicke, Donald R., 56525A.  
 Higgins, J. Alan, 56007A.  
 Hilbing, Francis J., Jr., 56207A.  
 Hildner, Robert E., 56123A.  
 Hill, John R., 56139A.  
 Hill, William H., 59630A.  
 Himley, Richard O., 59520A.  
 Hinkle, Ronald L., 56349A.  
 Hinshaw, Carl S., 56213A.  
 Holt, Elmer E., 56504A.  
 Horner, Charles A., 63170A.  
 Horning, Richard M., 62027A.  
 Houde, Donald J., 56147A.  
 Huey, Frank M., 56120A.  
 Hugelmann, Rodney D., 63200A.  
 Hughes, James E., 56339A.  
 Hunnicutt, John W., 56136A.  
 Irwin, Joseph R., 63101A.  
 Iwasko, Ronald A., 56347A.  
 Jackey, Phillip E., Jr., 56209A.  
 Jackson, Lee W., 63299A.  
 Jackson, Wingate A., 3d, 56380A.  
 Jacob, Corwin E., 59460A.  
 Jacobs, Gary L., 56033A.  
 James, John R., 63238A.  
 Janssens, Leo G., 63350A.  
 Javens, Jack R., 56127A.  
 Jean, James N., 62458A.  
 Jenkins, George T., Jr., 56303A.  
 Jensen, Richard L., 56295A.  
 Johannes, Philip H., 56130A.  
 Johnson, Allen L., 56372A.  
 Johnson, Laurence N., 56297A.  
 Johnson, Tony M., 56008A.  
 Jolly, Bobby G., 63144A.  
 Jones, Albert H., Jr., 56070A.  
 Jones, Walter H., 56306A.  
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 Kane, Jackie J., 63114A.  
 Keck, Nicholas A., 56356A.  
 Kennady, Richard M., 56067A.  
 Kepner, Harry M., 56103A.  
 Kerber, Dathan R., 56183A.  
 Kerby, Michael C., 56521A.  
 Key, James P., 56518A.  
 Kilroy, John D., 63109A.  
 King, Frederick M., 56128A.  
 Kinkead, William S., 56331A.  
 Klingbell, Ronald L., 63295A.  
 Kuhar, Robert M., 63441A.  
 Lacosse, Donald E., 56083A.  
 Lair, Gary R., 59462A.  
 Lam, Carroll F., 56495A.  
 Lanahan, Robert J., 63165A.  
 Lawaetz, Hans, 56505A.  
 Laws, Louis W., 63236A.  
 Lebow, Fritz E., Jr., 59465A.  
 Lednicki, Edward P., 56025A.  
 Legare, Vincent P., 63233A.  
 Lehnhoff, Edward W., Jr., 63317A.  
 Leonard, Patrick R., 59457A.  
 Lesperance, Donald A., 56357A.  
 Levison, Robert L., Jr., 59512A.  
 Lindsay, Donald R., 56140A.  
 Little, Robert P., 56032A.  
 Loving, Errol K., 56263A.  
 Lueschow, Roger J., 62028A.  
 Luhrman, Charles R., 56516A.  
 Luke, David C., 56515A.  
 Lyons, Bernard G., 63309A.  
 MacDonald, Donald A., 56124A.  
 MacDougall, Harold I., 59103A.  
 Mackrill, Richard L., 56115A.  
 Macora, Stanley E., Jr., 56034A.  
 Maddocks, John A., 56149A.  
 Malone, Richard A., 56148A.  
 Mansfield, Don L., 56266A.  
 Marschall, George F., 56134A.  
 Martin, Larue W., 59463A.  
 Martin, Norman C., 63247A.  
 Martin, Robert A., 56533A.  
 Masuga, Charles E., 56126A.  
 Matasick, Donald J., 56145A.  
 Mathels, Vernon H., 63211A.  
 Mathison, Richard A., 63134A.  
 Maurer, Richard J., 56131A.  
 Maxwell, Robert S., 63334A.  
 McBride, Jon R., 63277A.  
 McCall, Philip J., Jr., 63262A.  
 McCall, Thomas M., 56343A.  
 McCord, Saunders, 56307A.  
 McCorvey, William H., 56292A.  
 McCourt, Peter E., 59532A.  
 McDaniel, Dentsis S., 63316A.  
 McDonald, Charles M., 56195A.  
 McDowell, Russell V., 56524A.  
 McKeon, Warren, 56121A.  
 McKiernan, John J., 56133A.  
 McKinley, Robert D., 63139A.  
 McKinney, John S., 56370A.  
 McKnight, George P., 63282A.  
 McLendon, Guyton S., Jr., 56096A.  
 McMullan, Charles D., 63099A.  
 McNeill, Robert S., 56296A.  
 McNeill, Ken B., 56257A.



McSherry, James C., 61687A.  
 Metsker, Robert C., 56494A.  
 Meurer, Frederick A., 59461A.  
 Meusel, William L., Jr., 56243A.  
 Meyer, Walter D., 56358A.  
 Middlemist, Louis S., Jr., 63212A.  
 Miller, John C., 63275A.  
 Miller, Paul M., Jr., 56373A.  
 Miller, Ralph B., 56132A.  
 Miller, Royal D., Jr., 56334A.  
 Miller, William J., Jr., 63141A.  
 Mitchell, Donald B., 56523A.  
 Mitchell, Fred C., 56340A.  
 Montecino, Allen J., Jr., 59119A.  
 Morgan, Richard H., 56118A.  
 Mullick, Richard F., 63276A.  
 Munson, John D., 61633A.  
 Murphy, Richard G., 56344A.  
 Murray, Guy E., Jr., 63271A.  
 Narog, Denney J., 56153A.  
 Nawrocki, Edmund A., 63253A.  
 Nelson, Elmer E., 63312A.  
 Nelson, Lowell P., 56154A.  
 Nelson, Michael A., 56151A.  
 Nethercot, Hubert S., 63280A.  
 Neveu, Florian R., 59526A.  
 Newell, Donald A., 56100A.  
 Newell, William M., 56035A.  
 Newman, Leon B., 56385A.  
 Newth, Robert C., 56023A.  
 Nielsen, Paul M., 56152A.  
 Noll, Kenneth E., 56330A.  
 Nordhauser, Fred, 63442A.  
 Norwood, William R., 56141A.  
 Ouren, Richard L., 56125A.  
 Paddon, Struan L., 59517A.  
 Parnell, James D., 62456A.  
 Parrish, Bishop P., 3d., 56138A.  
 Partin, James W., 56514A.  
 Peacock, James A., 56350A.  
 Pearce, Dennis A., 56146A.  
 Peebler, Richard D., 56155A.  
 Perkins, William F., 56309A.  
 Perkuchin, Dan N., 56247A.  
 Petersen, Dick J., 56290A.  
 Phillips, Bobby W., 56336A.  
 Phillips, George V., Jr., 56353A.  
 Pikell, Paul W., 63100A.  
 Powell, William E., 56519A.  
 Prestegard, Allen L., 56211A.  
 Prostko, Vincent A., 63208A.  
 Purrington, Linwood N., Jr., 56333A.  
 Quinby, Charles F., 63098A.  
 Rader, John R., 56143A.  
 Randolph, Ross W., 56142A.  
 Rask, Robert J., 56107A.  
 Read, Richard E., 59572A.  
 Reed, William C., 63204A.  
 Reginato, Dino D., 59104A.  
 Ricci, Alfred, 56289A.  
 Riddle, George M., 56499A.  
 Riggs, David A., 56076A.  
 Rindahl, Milton D., 56751A.  
 Risan, Thomas J., 63167A.  
 Risinger, Bruce D., 56313A.  
 Rivers, James W., Jr., 59459A.  
 Roach, Dwight E., 59114A.  
 Roach, James H., 63162A.  
 Roberson, Charles D., 56316A.  
 Robertson, William R., 56294A.  
 Rodean, Frederick R., 56261A.  
 Rodman, Stanley A., 56185A.  
 Rogers, Brown B., Jr., 56214A.  
 Rollins, Jimmy Y., 56252A.  
 Roselund, Gordon E., 63159A.  
 Ross, James C., 56506A.  
 Rossow, Carl J., 56217A.  
 Rostkowski, Alexander E., 63268A.  
 Rubel, Louis P., 56503A.  
 Rudy, Richard A., 56293A.  
 Rutten, Thomas W., 63346A.  
 Rutter, Joseph G., 63186A.  
 Sackschewsky, Virgil E., 63136A.  
 Sakella, John L., 56192A.  
 Sanders, Ernest L., Jr., 56368A.  
 Sargent, Jerry D., 56245A.  
 Sattler, Frank J., Jr., 56511A.  
 Schanz, Waldron A., 61960A.  
 Scheidt, William E., 56024A.  
 Schumacher, Eugene P., 56184A.  
 Schumacher, Frederick W., 63168A.

Selberg, Ronald L., 56535A.  
 Sellers, Kenneth, 56287A.  
 Schackleton, George, 56006A.  
 Shaffer, Lewis F., 56750A.  
 Shaper, James R., 63183A.  
 Shea, David J., 56379A.  
 Schuler, Ellie G., Jr., 56249A.  
 Sibbald, David M. H., 59578A.  
 Simmons, Warren L., 56498A.  
 Skucas, Donatas, 63107A.  
 Sloan, Peter L., 56351A.  
 Smalley, Vern G., 56345A.  
 Smith, Conrad E., 63343A.  
 Smith, Cromer W., Jr., 56081A.  
 Smith, Jerry B., 56250A.  
 Smith, Keith W., 63325A.  
 Smith, Walter E., 63142A.  
 Spielman, Robert W., 56285A.  
 Sprinkle, Howard B., 56529A.  
 Spurlock, Belford M., 55754A.  
 Starkey, Alden R., 56537A.  
 Steingrebe, Carl E., Jr., 59115A.  
 Stewart, Robert E., 56508A.  
 Stockett, Joe T., 55755A.  
 Stone, John T., Jr., 63105A.  
 Stoop, James K., 56286A.  
 Straight, Thomas E., 55758A.  
 Stroud, Donald E., 63314A.  
 Stuck, Monte L., 56078A.  
 Stueve, John B., 59453A.  
 Stutzman, Roger D., 63278A.  
 Sullivan, David J., 63341A.  
 Sullivan, Gerald J., 56238A.  
 Summers, Robert E., 56129A.  
 Suter, Richard M., 63274A.  
 Swofford, Frank W., 56009A.  
 Talbot, Richard J., 56265A.  
 Tarsoly, John B., 56338A.  
 Tate, Orila A., Jr., 56298A.  
 Taylor, Bruce G., 59522A.  
 Termeer, John J., 63207A.  
 Tharp, Roland L., Jr., 63169A.  
 Thomas, Harry A., Jr., 55759A.  
 Thompson, Susan J., 59629W.  
 Tilley, Robert D., 56291A.  
 Traub, William H., 56242A.  
 Travis, Robert E., 56308A.  
 Trinchitella, Nicholas P., 56255A.  
 Troyer, Richard H., 56244A.  
 Trzaskoma, Richard J., 56509A.  
 Turner, Howard C., Jr., 56246A.  
 Tuttle, Thomas C., 63154A.  
 Ubelhor, Robert J., 63227A.  
 Unnerstall, Ronald W., 56258A.  
 Upton, Rodney A., 59449A.  
 Vajda, Frank S., 56259A.  
 Vankesteren, John A., 56092A.  
 Vaughan, John C., 3d., 56196A.  
 Veach, James P., 63177A.  
 Violet, Russell L., 63205A.  
 Voss, John H., 63181A.  
 Wade, Don R., 56109A.  
 Wade, James E., 63202A.  
 Wakefield, Kimball R., 56314A.  
 Walton, Morris D., 63195A.  
 Ward, Samuel M., 59530A.  
 Watkins, Devere M., 56254A.  
 Watkins, Losie V., Jr., 56335A.  
 Watts, James D., 63336A.  
 Waynk, Michael, Jr., 56510A.  
 Webb, Edward M., Jr., 56375A.  
 West, George W., 56328A.  
 West, John E., 63187A.  
 Wheelhouse, Jay L., 56526A.  
 White, Jerry E., 56354A.  
 Whiteside, Don M., 61862A.  
 Wiesner, John C., 63421A.  
 Wigton, Richard S., 63160A.  
 Wilcox, Bruce E., 59570A.  
 Williams, Edward R., 56367A.  
 Williams, Ray E., 56091A.  
 Williams, Warren R., 56064A.  
 Willingham, Larry D., 56492A.  
 Wilson, Norman D., 56538A.  
 Winton, Albert J., 56528A.  
 Wood, Lawrence M., 56093A.  
 Wood, William E., Jr., 56251A.  
 Woodring, Marvin J., 56493A.  
 Yager, Walter S., 63301A.  
 Young, Francis J., Jr., 63270A.

#### Medical Service Corps

Ayars, Richard W., 61201A.  
 Caldwell, Arthur P., 56222A.  
 Englekirk, Robert E., 56219A.  
 Gregory, Marvin G., Jr., 56221A.  
 Hendley, James W., 56226A.  
 Kern, John E., 56225A.  
 Laney, Sherrill G., 56220A.  
 Mabson, William E., 56329A.  
 Rowe, William B., 56326A.  
 Seese, Vernon L., 56224A.  
 Young, Robert M., 56223A.

#### Nurse Corps

Halley, Norma D., 63071W.

(NOTE.—Dates of rank of all officers nominated for promotion will be determined by the Secretary of the Air Force.)

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1962

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D.D., offered the following prayer:

John 9: 4: *I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work.*

Almighty God, for insight and inspiration, for courage and consolation, we are turning unto Thee and beseeching Thee that in these perilous times the ageless and authentic spiritual foundations, which cannot be shaken, may be our shelter and strength.

Grant that we may cultivate and manifest the virtues of patience and perseverance when our minds and hearts are assailed by the storms of doubt and despair and might seems victorious over right and the arrogant forces of evil are seeking to impede the progress of the kingdom of peace.

May we daily dedicate our lives, which are so brief at their longest and so broken at their best, to the glorious task of hastening the dawning of that day when both friend and foe alike shall be drawn and held together by the bonds of that love which forgives and forgets.

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

#### APPROPRIATIONS FOR CIVIL FUNCTIONS, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, CERTAIN AGENCIES OF DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, AND OTHER AGENCIES

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight tonight to file a report on the bill making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and certain river basin commissions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, and for other purposes.